

VOLUME 10 SEPTEMBER, 1929 NUMBER 2

DEC 23 1929

# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

- FACTORS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928 BY WILLIAM F. OGDEN
- CHARLES HORTON COOLEY BY WALTON HALE HAMILTON
- MENTAL HYGIENE AND RELIGION BY ERNEST R. GROVES
- FACTORS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT BY RAY ERWIN BABER
- THE CONCEPT OF THE REGION BY RUPERT B. VANCE
- HOMICIDE IN SOUTH CAROLINA BY H. C. BREARLEY
- THE CONCEPT OF COMPLEXITY IN SOCIOLOGY BY READ BAIN
- SOCIOLOGY IN THE WORKS OF FRANCIS LIEBER BY LEE M. BROWN
- INDEXES OF PUBLIC WELFARE WORK IN INDIANA BY R. CLYDE WHITE
- THE LODGE IN A CHANGING URBAN COMMUNITY BY EARL FRED THOMAS
- THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND THE CULTURAL BY SAMUEL J. STEIN
- MUNICIPAL SPENDING BY AMY HEWES
- OTHER ARTICLES AND BOOK REVIEWS BY BRUCE L. MELVIN, B. B. MURPHY, MARY P. ADAMS, EMMA C. PUSCHNER, PAULINE V. YOUNG, MARY MARSHALL, ETHEL B. DIETRICH, FRANK H. HANSEN, L. W. BARNARD, ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN, CARL C. TAYLOR, CARL R. MCCOY, T. J. WOOLFE, JR., WILLARD L. THORP.
- THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES BY HOWARD W. ODUM

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS  
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\$4.00 A YEAR

# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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*Published Quarterly*

SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER, MARCH, JUNE

For THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

By THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY

Communications for the Editors, and all manuscripts, should be addressed to THE EDITORS, SOCIAL FORCES, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. Business communications should be addressed to The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md.



# SOCIAL FORCES

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1929

## CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

	Page
A MEASUREMENT OF THE FACTORS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928.....William F. Ogburn and Nell Snow Talbot	175
CHARLES HORTON COOLEY.....Walton H. Hamilton	183
SOME ASPECTS OF MENTAL HYGIENE AND RELIGION..Ernest R. Groves	187
FACTORS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT.....Ray Erwin Baber	198
THE CONCEPT OF THE REGION.....Rupert B. Vance	208
HOMICIDE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.....H. C. Brearley	218

## DEPARTMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.....	222
The Concept of Complexity in Sociology, <i>Read Bain</i> ; Sociology in the Works of Francis Lieber, <i>Lee M. Brooks</i> ; Sociological Heterogeneity, <i>Bruce L. Melvin</i> .	
PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK.....	246
Indexes of Public Welfare Work in Indiana, <i>R. Clyde White</i> .	
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.....	253
Rural Welfare in India, <i>B. B. Mukherjee</i> ; The Lodge in a Changing Urban Community, <i>Erle Fiske Young</i> ; Fraternal Social Work and Its Relation to Professional Social Work, <i>Matthew P. Adams</i> , <i>Emma C. Puschner</i> , <i>Pauline V. Young</i> .	
RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.....	264
Concerning the Distinction between the Social and the Cultural, <i>Bernhard J. Stern</i> ; Contribution to the Life History of the North-western Lumberjack, <i>Robert Marshall</i> .	
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP.....	274
Municipal Spending, <i>Amy Hewes</i> .	
SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.....	284
National Arbitration in the Balance: The Newspaper Publishers versus the Compositors, <i>Ethel B. Dietrich</i> .	
LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP.....	295
Book Reviews, <i>Ernest R. Groves</i> , <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> , <i>L. L. Bernard</i> , <i>Erich W. Zimmerman</i> , <i>Carl C. Taylor</i> , <i>Carl E. McCombs</i> , <i>Rupert B. Vance</i> , <i>T. J. Wooster, Jr.</i> , <i>Willard L. Thorp</i> . New Books Received.	
THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES.....	<i>Howard W. Odum</i> ii

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## THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES

SOCIOLOGY has recently lost two key men, Charles Horton Cooley, who was mature and masterful; and Russell Gordon Smith, young and promising, one of the greatest of war casualties. Both of these scholars were shortly to have contributed to *SOCIAL FORCES*, and both had planned valuable volumes for the American Social Science Series. In this number of *SOCIAL FORCES* Walton Hale Hamilton presents an unusual appreciation of Professor Cooley, while the recent article in *SOCIAL FORCES* on "The Concept of the Culture Area" by Russell Smith was indicative of the work which he was developing.

\* \* \* \* \*

Of special interest to American social scientists are the recent interchanges between American and European social scientists. Among others professors Ogburn and Ellwood have made recent reports. A number of European social scientists will sojourn in America for a part of the present year, taking part in the Chicago dedication of the new social science building and lecturing at the University of Minnesota and elsewhere. Professor Sorokin's recent emphasis upon European data and sociology in his books and articles are suggestive of future contributions which he may make in this field from his new Harvard workshop. American sociologists may well consider the merits and demerits of present American

tendencies as pointed out in his recent article in *SOCIAL FORCES*.

However, this superiority of the American textbooks has had its drawbacks. The point is that the textbook always puts some limitations on originality of the work. A good textbook must always be well proportioned, and no one part of it can be very much developed. Again, any good text contains a great deal of truism and platitude, current and popular opinion. Any text requires from its author not so much creative originality, as a competent survey of existing theories and material well known to the specialists but unknown to the students. Textbook writing is somewhat in conflict with the writing of original monographs which tend to say something new and important and to say it distinctly and in a developed form. The more a sociologist is busy with the writing of texts the less he has time and energy for the production of original monographs; for, as a rule, monographs require enormous energy, patience, meditation, creative mind, and much research. This is almost impossible for a scholar busy with the writing of texts. In addition, one engrossed too much in textbook production is likely to acquire habits of thinking stamped by "the textbook intellectual level," which, as a rule, is much below the intellectual level of a monograph. Add to this the various commercial and similar considerations which tend to lower the level of the textbooks still more.

\* \* \* \* \*

A gratifying increase in the number of subscribers for *SOCIAL FORCES* during the last year emphasizes the importance of our plan to call it to the attention of a still wider group. An examination of the list of subscribers in each state suggests that it would be a relatively easy matter to double this list with a little enthusiastic



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coöperation. And perhaps we shall be making some suggestions for the new year. And, of course, we shall welcome all manner of suggestions for making SOCIAL FORCES better and for extending its reach.

There are elements which we might "view with alarm" and some which we might view with pleasure. Among the latter is the gratifying support which social scientists and especially sociologists and social workers have uniformly given to SOCIAL FORCES. There has been enthusiasm, coöperation, and withal a broad and generous charity towards the development from small beginnings to a substantial status. It is the purpose of the editors to continue the mechanical development and perfection of the journal with the same enthusiasm and dispatch, for instance, as has resulted in the past in not a single issue being published later than the regular date. Perhaps we may publish some of the favorable comments on SOCIAL FORCES later, but our present inquiry is to find out in what ways it can be made better and what criticisms are being offered.

For instance, one distinguished sociologist complains that we are letting the boys put over too much soft stuff on us!

And look at this quotation from a letter just received from a very good friend: "The June number of SOCIAL FORCES has just arrived, and I don't like it. Whereas it used to appear in shirt-sleeves and workshop clothes, it shows up today drunk, dressed up, and highly perfumed. I glance through the table of contents, seeking something on which to base an editorial, and what do I find? An article with the title, 'The Limitations of a Conceptual Approach to the Applications of Sociology to Social Work.' Damnation! Of course I realize the necessity of carrying these technical articles, but the

joy of SOCIAL FORCES used to be that there was always somewhere in the table of contents a sop to the Philistines—something so low, vulgar, debased and common that even a Presbyterian preacher could read it and understand twenty-five per cent of it. And an editor would find something to write about."

Well, the contents of the present number may be judged by its contributors. WILLIAM F. OGBURN, is President of the American Sociological Society, Chairman of the Committee on Problems and Policies of the Social Science Research Council, and Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. In his study of the presidential election of 1928, appearing in this issue of SOCIAL FORCES, he was assisted by NELL SNOW TALBOT of the University of Chicago. WALTON HALE HAMILTON, widely known for his outstanding work in educational methods while President of the Robert Brookings Graduate School, is professor in the Yale Law School. ERNEST R. GROVES contributes the second of his articles on mental adjustment from his workshop, as research professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina and as a member of the editorial staff of SOCIAL FORCES. RAY ERWIN BABER has recently joined the faculty of the Department of Sociology in New York University. RUPERT B. VANCE, who is research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina, will be remembered for his recent volume, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture*. H. C. BREARLEY is head of the Department of Economics and Sociology in Clemson Agricultural College, South Carolina. READ BAIN, a member of the faculty of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in the Department of Sociology, is co-author with George A. Lundberg and Nels Anderson of *Trends in American*



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WILSON D. WALLIS

*Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Minnesota*

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*Sociology* which has just come from press. LEE M. BROOKS is assistant professor in the Department of Sociology in the University of North Carolina. BRUCE L. MELVIN is on the faculty of the Department of Rural Social Organization in Cornell University. R. CLYDE WHITE, a member of the faculty of Indiana University in the Department of Economics and Sociology, is also on the staff of the Training Course for Social Work. B. B. MUKHERJEE is professor in G. B. B. college, Muzaffarpur, India. ERLE FISKE YOUNG is on the faculty of the University of Southern California in the Department of Sociology. MATTHEW P. ADAMS is State and Executive Secretary of the Children's Home Society of California at Los Angeles. EMMA C. PUSCHNER, a trained and experienced social worker, is Director of the National Child Welfare Division of the American Legion. PAULINE V. YOUNG, whose article on "The Reorganization of Jewish Family Life in America" appeared a short time ago in *SOCIAL FORCES*, continues active in social work. BERNHARD J. STERN is on the faculty of the University of Washington in the Department of Sociology. ROBERT MARSHALL is in the Laboratory of Plant Physiology in the Johns Hopkins University. AMY HEWES and ETHEL B. DIETRICH are members of the faculty of Mount Holyoke College in the Department of Economics and Sociology. FRANK H. HANKINS, Professor of Sociology in Smith College, is a frequent contributor to "Library and Workshop." L. L. BERNARD, who is on leave of absence from the University of North Carolina, is Professor of Sociology in Washington University, St. Louis, and is on the

editorial staff of *SOCIAL FORCES*. ERICH W. ZIMMERMANN, Professor of Commerce and Resources in the School of Commerce in the University of North Carolina, has recently made under the auspices of the Brookings Institution, special researches in Porto Rico into its external commercial relations and the possibilities of its industrialization. CARL C. TAYLOR, a specialist in the rural field, is Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Sociology in the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering. CARL E. MCCOMBS, Manager of the National Institute of Public Administration, is the author of *City Health Administration*. T. J. WOOFER, JR. is research professor and consultant in the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina. He will presently bring out *Black Yeomanry*, a volume presenting the results of the study of Negro culture on Saint Helena Island, South Carolina. WILLARD E. THORP is Professor of Economics in Amherst College.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Social Science Research Council makes the following announcement:

The Council has been fortunate in securing Professor Edwin B. Wilson as its first President, for the year 1929-30. Professor Wilson is to be on leave from Harvard University for the year. His wide experience, both in the social and natural sciences, makes him a peculiarly happy choice to head an organization based as is the Council upon the recognition of the necessity for joint attack by many disciplines upon the common problems of science. Professor Wilson is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and president of the American Statistical Association for the current year. He represents the Statistical Association on the Council and has served as a member of the Committee on Problems and Policy.

*For other announcements concerning the Social Science Research Council and additional notes see pp. 245, 263, 273, 283, 294, and 325 of this issue.*

This grant from the University of Chicago

# SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1929

## A MEASUREMENT OF THE FACTORS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1928

WILLIAM F. OGBURN AND NELL SNOW TALBOT<sup>1</sup>

### I

IT IS generally thought that in the presidential election of 1928 the Democratic candidate was strongly supported by the foreign-born vote, by the wets, by the Catholics, by the cities, and by the regular Democrats. It is likewise believed that the Republican candidate was supported by the opposites of these forces. There is apparently some truth in these claims, but one might be interested in knowing more. For instance it would be interesting to know whether the Catholic influence was stronger than that of the wets on the Democratic vote, or whether the foreign-born supported Smith more strongly than the urbanist; but it would not be easy to give an answer. For often the Smith supporters dwelt in cities and the same persons were at the same time foreign born, wet, Catholic, and regular Democrats. The eggs are scrambled, so to speak. And it is difficult to separate the yolks from the whites, once they have been scrambled. (If it were necessary, no doubt some inventor would make a

separator such as has been made for milk and cream.) In the case of politics, it is desired to present here such a separator of issues and to show what are the results when it is applied to the recent election for president of the United States.

How these issues may be separated will now be shown. If a certain number of counties could be found in which there were exactly the same percentages of foreign born, of wets, of regular Democrats, of city people, but with differing percentages of Catholics, then we could take some of these counties that had, say, 20 per cent of Catholics and compare the votes for Smith with those in certain other counties that had, say, 30 per cent of Catholics. Perhaps the Smith vote in the latter counties might average 3 per cent greater than in the former. We would then say that an increase in 10 per cent of the Catholics in a county increased the Smith vote by 3 per cent, when the other aforementioned factors were the same in the counties.

Similarly it might be found in counties that had exactly the same percentages of foreign-born, of Catholics, of regular Democrats, and of city people but with differing percentages of wets, that an increase of 10 per cent in the wets increased the Smith vote by 4 per cent.

If such results were found we should be

<sup>1</sup> This study was supported in part by a financial grant from the Local Community Research Fund of the University of Chicago, which was of help in the calculations. Mr. Clark Tibbetts of the University of Chicago also assisted in the research.



justified in saying that the wet influence, unmixed with these other influences, on the Smith vote was greater than the Catholic influence alone. In the same way other forces operating in the campaign could be isolated and measured. It is not practicable to locate these counties in actuality where all these factors are exactly the same except the one to be varied. But it is possible to select for study a group of random counties with varying percentages of all these influences and by the procedures of partial differentiation and of the method of least squares to hold all of the factors constant but the one which is varied and thus come to the same achievement that would be reached if counties could be located having exactly the same percentages of the various influences except the one to be studied.

This has been done for 173 counties located at random in the following states<sup>2</sup> of the North and West, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Colorado, Montana, and California. The results of the analysis are shown below. The figures indicate the percentages of

<sup>2</sup> These particular states were chosen because they were the only ones which had voted on some form of the wet-dry issue and hence for which an index of wetness could be obtained. The counties were chosen at random except that certain counties were eliminated in order to make the frequency distributions of the various indexes of factors approximately symmetrical, a result desired for the technical purpose of getting the relationships expressed in linear form. The numbers of cities in the counties of varying populations of over 10,000 inhabitants are shown in the following table:

<i>Sizes of Cities</i>	<i>Number of Cities</i>
10,000- 50,000.....	148
50,000- 100,000.....	22
100,000- 500,000.....	15
500,000-1,000,000.....	4
1,000,000 and over.....	1
	190

change in the Democratic vote when there is a ten per cent increase in the particular factor named, the percentages of all the other factors listed above being the same.

<i>Factors which are increased 10 per cent in the counties</i>	<i>The corresponding percentage increase in the Democratic vote</i>
Foreign born .....	0.5
Urban population <sup>3</sup> .....	0.8 (decrease)
Democratic voters <sup>4</sup> .....	1.8
Catholics .....	2.8
Wet voters <sup>5</sup> .....	4.1

These figures then represent the ranking from the least to the greatest of the five factors (as defined) in the recent presidential election, each one being independent of the others.

The wet influence is seen to be greater than the Catholic influence, that is, a 10 per cent increase in the number of wet voters increases the Smith vote more than does a 10 per cent increase in the Catholics.<sup>6</sup> Some interpreters of the election have seen the religious issue as affecting voters more strongly than the prohibition issue, but this is not the case for these Northern and Western states.

It should be noted that the ranking above measures the force of these factors per unit of size, i.e., per percentage change, rather than the sizes of these factors numerically. For instance, there are many more wets than Catholics. In these counties the average percentage of Catholics was 20 while the average percentage

<sup>3</sup> Percentage of the population urban means the percentage of the population living in places of over 2,500 inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> The Democratic voters are measured by the vote in 1920.

<sup>5</sup> The wet voters are those that voted wet in state elections on some form of the wet-dry issue.

<sup>6</sup> The increase in the wets is an increase in the wet voters whereas the increase in the Catholics is an increase in Catholic membership. But it is assumed that the percentage of Catholics is very highly correlated with the percentage of Catholics who are voters.



of wet voters was 56.<sup>7</sup> The ratio of the numbers, i.e., percentages, is nearly 1 to 3, (but of course they are not mutually exclusive categories) while the ratio of their influences per unit of size is 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

The influence of the Democratic vote as measured by the Cox vote of 1920 (per percentage of change) was surprisingly small. This is surprising to those of us who are accustomed to thinking of party loyalty as a great conservative force resisting change, as illustrated by the persistence of the solid (nearly) South and of the two parties despite numerous attempts to break them up. The concept of party influence that it was desired to measure is that of voters who vote rather regularly for the party. Such a measure of party regularity would give a smaller result than the normal or average party vote. It would probably have made little difference whether we had taken the Cox vote or the Davis vote as our index since the correlations of these votes with the Smith vote in these counties were the same, +.12 and +.13 respectively. It is indeed very striking how little was the common support in these counties of Smith and Davis and of Smith and Cox.

The influence of the foreign-born vote for Smith is seen to be almost negligible when the influences of religion, prohibition, party, and residence are removed. The foreign-born voted more for Smith than for Hoover for the correlation between the Smith vote and the percentage of foreign-born is +.33, but when these other influences are removed the correlation is +.07, almost negligible. In other words, the foreign-born voted for Smith because they were wet and Catholic or for some other reason closely correlated

with these, and not apparently for the sole reason that they were foreign-born. If there was a clash between the Old American Stock and the newer immigration in the past election, as many magazine writers seemed to think, expecting Smith to lead new hosts as Jackson had done, it would seem from the foregoing coefficient to have been due not so much to nativity as to drink and religion. The foregoing analysis is true for the counties studied, and is probably representative of the United States in general except for the South. But it may be that if large cities alone had been studied, the influence of the foreign-born might have been found to have been greater. We made for instance a correlation between the Smith vote and the percentage of foreign-born in 59 cities of the North and West and the coefficient was +.56. The correlation on the basis of counties it is recalled was +.33. A somewhat higher correlation was to have been expected since the county is a larger unit than the city. How much this correlation of +.56 would have been reduced if the various other factors had been held constant is not known. A study of the vote based on large cities is probably not as representative a method as a study based on counties.

The urban influence was not as strong for Smith as many persons seem to think. Hoover carried many cities and large ones, including Chicago, for instance. Indeed our analysis shows that when the influences of religion, drink, and immigration are removed from the urban influence, it went slightly more for Hoover than for Smith. Even when these influences are not removed, the urban factor was only slightly pro Smith, ( $r = +.16$ ). The election does not seem to have called forth any special rural or urban influence as such for either side. The dividing line

<sup>7</sup> The comparative size of these factors is shown by the arithmetic means in percentages which are as follows: Smith vote, 38.2; foreign-born, 23.1; Catholics, 19.6; wets, 56.2; Cox vote, 29.8; urban, 54.5.

for urban was at places with 2500 inhabitants and over. While this gives a better definition of rural than urban, it is not necessarily a bad relative index of the urban for our counties. This point is discussed elsewhere in the paper.

The foregoing ranking of influences which we have just been discussing is correct for the positions on the scale but the ratios of one influence to another are not so precise as they might be because of the unequal variabilities of the percentages.<sup>8</sup> The coefficients of correlation remove this disturbing influence of unequal variabilities and the squares of the partial coefficients give the best basis for ratios of one influence to another. These squared coefficients (with the digits of the ten thousandth places omitted and the decimal points removed) are shown below. The numbers represent then comparative influences of the different factors on the Smith vote, independent of the others.

Foreign-born influences.....	5
Rural influences.....	32
Democratic influences.....	63
Catholic influences.....	109
Wet influences.....	314

The wet influence is the most powerful, nearly three times as great as the Catholic, which ranks second. The Catholic influence is about twice as great as the traditional Democratic party influence, which in turn is twice as great as the rural. The foreign-born influence is quite negligible.

An interesting question is how many of the influences of the campaign have we included when we have studied these five influences of party, religion, prohibition, urban-rural, and immigrant. Because, unless these comprise a fairly large percentage, we shall not have gained so much in

<sup>8</sup> The standard deviations in percentages are as follows: Smith vote, 8.85; foreign-born, 10.77; Catholic, 9.22; wet, 11.78; Democratic, 9.80; urban, 21.50.

holding four of these constant, for there may be other important ones that we have not held constant. A different ranking might have occurred if we had held other important ones constant. There were other factors, an important one being no doubt the amounts of money spent in the different counties. Another is the extent of activity of the party organization. Other issues were the tariff and the control of consolidated electric power. The five influences here considered, we estimate, comprise 59 per cent ( $R_{1,23456} = 0.77$ ) of the effective influences bearing on the election. We have included, therefore, a fairly large percentage, and when a large percentage of the factors have been held constant, there is less likelihood of a different ranking when additional ones are included.

The reader may be interested in the ranking of the influences when no influences have been held constant. For illustration, the correlation of the wet vote with the Smith vote is +.65 when no factors are held constant but is +.56 when the four other factors are held constant. In other words, the wets voted for Smith in part because they were Catholic and foreign-born. And when these other influences are removed the correlation of the wet vote with the Smith vote is less. Similar comparisons are shown for the correlations of the other factors with the Smith vote, in correlation coefficients listed below, the second column being those where no factors were held constant and the first column being the partial coefficients:

+ .07	+ .33	Foreign-born
- .18	+ .16	Urban
+ .25	+ .11	Democrats
+ .33	+ .47	Catholics
+ .56	+ .65	Wets

It is seen from the above that when the various factors are held constant most of

the simple correlations are reduced. This was to have been expected, since the same communities are often wet, Catholic, and foreign-born, and sometimes urban and Democratic. An exception is the case of the correlation of the Smith vote with the traditionally Democratic vote, as measured by the Cox vote of 1920. When the various factors are held constant, the correlation is raised. The forces of the Catholics and of the wets reduced in these counties the normal Democratic group.

The results just described are in part validated by the fact that the basic equation yielding the above mentioned results can be used very successfully to predict the Smith vote. For instance, if the percentages for a county on wetness, on Catholicism, on urbanism, on the Cox vote, and on the foreign-born are furnished us, we can tell the Smith vote in that county within 4 per cent about half the time and two-thirds of the time within less than 6 per cent. (The standard error of estimate is 5.9 per cent.) This statement is quite true for the counties which were the basis of this study. Theoretically not quite such good accuracy of prediction is to be expected on the average for other counties; for it is remembered that the frequency distributions here used were selected so that they were approximately symmetrical, whereas, for the county as a whole they would not all be so. We have tested this point empirically by taking certain counties not used in the study and seeing how well we could predict the Smith vote.

For instance, take DeKalb county, Illinois, a county on which our results were not based. In this county the percentage of foreign-born was 23, the percentage of the population that were Catholics was 7, the percentage wet was 30, the percentage voting for Cox was 14, and the percentage urban was 36. If these values are substi-

tuted successively for the  $X$ s in the equation,  $X_1 = 6.29 + .052X_2 + .277X_3 + .412X_4 + .181X_5 - .059X_6$  and the equation is solved for  $X_1$ , the percentage of votes cast for Smith is calculated to be 30, whereas as a matter of fact the percentage of votes actually cast for Smith was 26. Similarly we have tried the prediction for 31 other counties, not included in our sample of 173 counties, but coming from the same states, none being from the South. In predicting the Smith vote in these 32 counties 50 per cent of the predictions came within 3 per cent of the actual Smith vote. And in nearly seven-eighths of the counties the prediction of the Smith vote by the equation was within 8 per cent of the percentages of the actual votes cast for Smith. For five counties the miss was large, the largest miss being 21 per cent. But in these few counties where the miss was large some one or two factors were found to an extremely high or low degree. In general prediction is not so good for extreme cases, according to the theory of errors.

The equation based on all five of these factors yields the best prediction of the election returns in a particular county. But it is interesting to note that the equation based on the liquor vote alone  $X_1 = 10.98 + .485X_4$  gives very nearly as good prediction results as does the equation based on the five factors. In fact the best guess as to the Smith strength in a community is the wetness of the community, if only one factor is considered. The next best guess as to the Smith vote is the extent of Catholicism.<sup>9</sup> The percentage of foreign-born also yields a fairly good

<sup>9</sup> The regression equations are the following:

$$X_1 = 32.03 + .268X_2$$

$$X_1 = 29.38 + .451X_3$$

$$X_1 = 10.95 + .485X_4$$

$$X_1 = 35.15 + .103X_5$$

$$X_1 = 34.57 + .067X_6$$



estimate, but not quite so good as liquor and Catholicism. The Cox vote was not much of a basis for predicting, nor was the percentage of persons living in urban communities.

The preceding analysis represents an unscrambling of some of the more important of the various influences entering into the election, and a measurement of the strength of each per unit of size.

## II

In Part I the more interesting results were set forth briefly. Some of the terms were not very fully defined, however, and certain minor conclusions and testings were omitted. These will now be presented in Part II.

The most important concern is that of the validity of the indexes chosen to represent the factors in the election. These will be taken up in order.

*The influence of the foreign-born voters.* This influence is generally conceived as that of the naturalized foreign-born citizens who voted in the election. With some observers it may mean votes of the children of immigrants. With still others it may mean that rather large section of recent immigration that has come from southwestern Europe. Perhaps the most general idea is that of the recent immigrants who are contrasted with the old American stock. To represent this somewhat variously conceived concept we have used the percentages of the adult population that were foreign-born in 1920. The percentages have, it is thought, changed little since 1920. Probably the correlation between the adult foreign-born and the foreign-born voters is quite high. Also usually in those counties where there is a large percentage of foreign-born, there is also a large percentage of the children of foreign-born. The foreign-born are naturally a heterogeneous group coming from

various countries, linguistic and racial stocks; but the current concept seems to take them collectively. It has been argued that the foreign-born in the large cities and the foreign-born in the smaller places are two different types of individuals and do not belong to the same series. Hence, a correlation with the percentage of foreign-born in counties mixes two different things and does not adequately test the support of the urban foreign-born which is the group that is supposed to have supported Smith. In many small industrial towns around factories or coal fields, the foreign-born may not be greatly different from those in the cities, except that in cities the foreign-born voters may be more highly organized and more readily mobilized politically. In New York City, a city of many immigrants and Smith's home city, the influence of the foreign born was greater, (the correlation based on aldermanic districts was  $+ .59$ ), than in these counties throughout these different states (the correlation being  $+ .33$ ). There is probably some difference between the measure of foreign-born influence within the large cities and throughout the country.

*The religious influence.* The Roman Catholics are supposed to have thrown their support more strongly to Smith and the Protestants more strongly to Hoover. There are of course other religious groups than these. Yet the percentage of the population that is Catholic is probably very highly correlated negatively with the percentage of the population that is Protestant. It was not possible to get the numbers of Catholics who voted nor indeed the numbers who were adults. The index that was used was the total number of Catholics of all ages in 1926, expressed as a percentage of the total population, estimated by the usual exponential curve, for that year.



Catholic families are supposed to have a larger number of children than Protestant families, but such an error might be balanced by the fact that the age distribution of immigrants (who are often strongly Catholic) show few children.

*The influence of the prohibition issue.* There are many attitudes on this issue from bone dry to dripping wet. In general, those with any wet indications whatsoever were supposed to be sympathetic with the Democratic candidate. The problem was to find data that would show this sentiment. The most reliable index to be found was the vote on some phase of the prohibition question in those few states that had voted in recent years (1926, 1927, or 1928) on this question. The questions usually submitted to the voter in these state referendums were regarding the enforcement or repeal of the Volstead act or the sale of light wines and beers. The states, therefore, voted on different measures. In any one state the counties could be ranked on the proper scale of prohibition sentiment or vice versa. But for our analysis it was necessary to have all the counties of these different states ranked in one series. It was possible to link these counties of the different states together by using the data of the Literary Digest poll of 1922, when one question was submitted to samples of voters in all the states. From these votes it was thus possible to say, for instance, that if the wet sentiment in Illinois was 1, then in New York it was 1.2 and in Ohio it was .9. By utilizing such ratios the counties which were in proper alignment one with another in a particular state could be brought into a common line for all the states by stepping up or stepping down the actual county percentage votes on a prohibition issue by ratios such as the foregoing. This was done. As an experiment this alignment of counties

in a series as adjusted by the state ratios of the Digest poll was correlated with the series of county votes thrown together as they were without stepping up or down. The coefficient of correlation was found to be  $+ .83$ . Another test showed why so high a correlation was probable. In Illinois, the people voted in 1922 and in 1926 on two different measures, one permitting 4 per cent beer and light wines for home consumption and the other a modification of the Volstead Act. The correlation by counties of these two votes on two different measures 4 years apart was  $+ .89$ . It would seem, therefore, that the index adjusted by the ratios of the Digest poll was a satisfactory one for measuring the differentials in prohibition feeling among the various counties.

*The Influence of Party Regularity.* There is a concept of party allegiance and stability. For instance, one finds certain individuals regularly voting Democratic or there are certain states and counties that regularly go Republican. It was desired to hold this factor constant, in measuring the various other influences on the election, for the counties studied. This concept does not mean the average Democratic vote, but rather the solid, stable group that does not fluctuate in general from one party to another as the issues change. Such has been the idea of the solid Democratic party in the south. The actual size of this more or less stable Democratic vote must be then smaller than the average Democratic vote. The vote for Cox was taken as the index of traditional party influence so conceived, largely because of the complications of the LaFollette vote in 1924. The Cox vote is said to be somewhat unrepresentative because of the defection of the foreign-born groups. This would render the Cox vote an unsatisfactory index of the average Democratic vote, but would give it greater

validity as an index of regularity. Cox received a slightly larger percentage of the total vote (34) than did Davis (29). The correlation between the Smith vote and the Davis vote in the counties studied was  $+ .13$  while the correlation between the Smith vote and the Cox vote was  $+ .12$ . The Wilson votes were rather far away and complicated by war influences. (The correlation between the Smith vote and the average of the Democratic votes of 1912, 1916, and 1920 was  $+ .30$ .) The Cox vote, it is thought, is therefore a reasonably good index of this concept of party influence.

*The Urban Influence.* The Democratic candidate grew up on the sidewalks of New York City and the cities are supposed to have voted for him. The index of the urban influence was taken as the percentage of the population in a county living in urban communities as defined by the U. S. Bureau of Census namely, in places of 2500 inhabitants and over. The dividing line at this point may set off the rural influences better than the urban. For it is questionable whether what is called urban influence begins to show itself in places as small as 2500 inhabitants. A dweller in a very large city might argue that the urban influence he has in mind is not found in cities of less than 100,000 inhabitants or perhaps not in cities of less than 500,000 or 1,000,000 inhabitants. On the other hand a dirt farmer living in the open country might notice urban influences in towns of quite modest size. For the validity of our index of urbanism, it is quite probable that the counties which have the largest cities are also the ones which have the largest percentage of the population living in places of over 2500. Certainly the converse is true, that the counties having the largest percentages of population living in places of

less than 2500 inhabitants have the largest per cent of farmers.

In order to test this point further, the counties were classified as follows, those having cities under 10,000, those having cities from 10,000 to 50,000, those with cities from 50,000 to 100,000, and those with cities of over 100,000. Each of these classes was then broken up into four classes showing very low, low, high, and very high percentages of votes cast for Smith. The coefficient of contingency was .28 which is not very different from the coefficient of correlation,  $+ .16$ , between the Smith vote for these same counties and the percentage of urban dwellers as measured by the percentages of the population living in places over 2500. The similarity in the magnitude of these two coefficients gives confidence in the index of urbanism used. The drift of the larger cities toward Smith was not marked, as shown by our sample.

*The Zero Order Correlations.* The relationship of the various influences one with another are shown in the following simple correlation coefficients:

	Smith Vote	Foreign Born	Cath- olics	Wets	Cox Vote	Urban
Smith vote.....		$+ .33$	$+ .47$	$+ .65$	$+ .11$	$+ .16$
Foreign-born...	$+ .33$		$+ .44$	$+ .44$	$-.38$	$+ .34$
Catholics.....	$+ .47$	$+ .44$		$+ .39$	$-.18$	$+ .37$
Wets.....	$+ .65$	$+ .44$	$+ .39$		$-.03$	$+ .34$
Cox Vote.....	$+ .11$	$-.38$	$-.18$	$-.03$		$+ .07$
Urban.....	$+ .16$	$+ .34$	$+ .37$	$+ .34$	$+ .07$	

The foreign-born vote was about equally correlated with the Smith vote, the Catholics, the wets, the anti-Cox vote, and the urban, but none of the correlations were very high. The Catholics were also correlated to about the same degree with the Smith vote, with the foreign-born, with the wets, and with the urban. The Catholics went slightly against Cox.

Similarly the Cox vote did not split on the wet-dry issue. The wets were most highly correlated with the Smith vote, and somewhat less so with the foreign-born, with the Catholics and with the urban. Correlations with the Cox vote were all low except the negative correlation with the foreign-born. The percentage urban was about equally correlated with the foreign-born, with the Catholics, and with the wets. The relationship was very slight between the Cox vote and the Smith vote and urbanism.

*The counties.* The lists below show the counties that were selected for this piece of research. They are classified by states.

*California:* Alameda, Contra Costa, Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Lassen, Los Angeles, Merced, Monterey, Marin, Orange, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Solano, Stanislaus, Tehamas, Tulare, Ventura.

*Colorado:* Alamosa, Chaffee, Fremont, La Plata, Larimer, Las Animas Logan, Mesa, Pueblo.

*Illinois:* Adams, Christian, Cook, Dupage, Kane, Lake LaSalle Lee, Logan, Macoupin, Madison,

Mason, Montgomery, Morgan, Peoria, Perry, Rock Island, Saline, Sangamon, Stephenson, St. Clair, Vermillion, Wabash, Whiteside, Will, Winnebago.

*Massachusetts:* Berkshire, Franklin, Hampden, Hampshire, Middlesex, Norfolk, Plymouth, Worcester, Barnstable, Essex.

*Montana:* Beaverhead, Carbon, Cascade, Custer, Dawson, Hill, Missoula, Deer Lodge, Powell, Silver Bow, Yellowstone.

*New York:* Albany, Allegany, Broome, Cattaraugus, Cayuga, Chautauqua, Chemung, Chenango, Columbia, Cortland, Dutchess, Erie, Fulton, Genesee, Greene, Herkimer, Jefferson, Livingston, Madison, Monroe, Montgomery, Niagara, Onandaga, Oneida, Ontario, Orange, Oswego, Rensselaer, Saratoga, Schenectady, Seneca, Steuben, Tioga, Tompkins, Ulster, Warren, Wayne, Westchester.

*Ohio:* Allen, Ashtabula, Auglaize, Butler, Belmont, Cuyahoga, Erie, Franklin, Hamilton, Huron, Jefferson, Lake, Leraim, Lucas, Mahoning, Montgomery, Perry, Richland, Sandusky, Scioto, Seneca, Stark, Summit, Tuscarawas, Wayne.

*Wisconsin:* Ashland, Chippewa, Clark, Columbia, Dane, Dodge, Douglas, Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Grant, Jefferson, Kenosha, La Crosse, Lincoln, Marathon, Manitowoc, Marinette, Monroe, Milwaukee, Oneida, Outagamie, Price, Racine, Rock, Sauk, Sheboygan, Trempealeau, Waukesha, Winnebago, Wood.

## CHARLES HORTON COOLEY

WALTON H. HAMILTON

IT WAS in September 1910 that I first met Charles Horton Cooley. I had come to the University of Michigan to handle sections of Economics One and upon the chance of sometime "making a contribution to knowledge" and picking up a doctor's degree. I was one of a changing group of instructors—graduate students, who were, with an exception or two, the property of Freddy Taylor. The conditions of our servitude, far too unremunerative to be called wage slavery, were alike exacting and agreeable. Taylor insisted upon our teaching "Freddy's eco-

nomics," thinking it straight, and getting our students past his dreaded examinations. Our job was to make "marginal utility" in all its ramifications clear to the sophomores; whether or not we made it clear to ourselves was quite another matter. And, as for the rest, we might roam the intellectual universe, argue to our hearts' content, scribble as we would, and outside of the accepted system "think as we damned pleased."

At the time there was little rig-a-ma-role to graduate instruction. If any grades were given, I never heard of them.

Cox	Vote	Urban
.11	+.16	
.38	+.34	
.18	+.37	
.03	+.34	
.07	+.07	

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An invitation "to come up" for the doctorate was rare enough; there was much shaking of heads and "the big three," Taylor, Adams, and Cooley, were quite sure of their man before extending it. But it never occurred to any of them that a counting up of courses was very relevant to the issue. One youth never even bothered to matriculate until an impending degree made a visit to the registrar's office "advisable;" and for ought I know others may have neglected the ritual. But there was only a handful of us and the staff was diligent; our elders knew what we were doing and leaving undone, and something at least of what, if anything, was going on inside our heads.

Our programs included a stint of teaching, informal courses, and our self-directed ventures into understanding. We took Taylor's course in "theory" year after year; the mythical credit was to be had for three years running. We elected Henry Carter Adams; that is, if he was there, and if he was giving an advanced course, and if his extra-mural duties permitted him to attend it. In seeking an escape from economics, we overlooked history, since we could get that for ourselves and it wasn't written right anyway, and strayed over into philosophy to "take work to" Wenley and Lloyd. Against sociology we were prejudiced, deeply prejudiced, since there could be nothing to "a branch of knowledge which comprehended the universe." But then Cooley was Cooley, and different, and not a sociologist anyway. So into his seminar we went; in fact we composed it.

How it was later I do not know; in those days it was with groups like ours that Cooley worked. He had few students of his own; if there was a budding sociologist among us I do not recall him. Most of us were, or thought we were, heaven bent for economics. Our majors, if there were

such things, were in other fields. Cooley's work was with cubs who had not committed themselves to his trade; it was complementary to the work of Taylor and of Adams. Taylor was the dominant personality; he drilled us in neo-classical economics, taught us the value of discipline, helped us to be critical of our work, and gave us a God-awful fear of publishing half-baked stuff. Adams now and then had a critical suggestion of an inviting lead to offer, but his distinctive service was in keeping us mindful of the world in which we lived. Cooley was tolerant of our doubts about things generally accepted and gave us encouragement in our half-foolish rides into the winds. We had to live at peace with all of them; yet no two thought the same thoughts, approached a problem in the same way, or would have formulated the same social program. Thus favor was not to be had through conformity; it was perhaps their differences, and the remarkable tolerance each of the others, that helped us to be ourselves.

In a division of labor never consciously planned it was Cooley's task to help us towards intellectual freedom. No one was ever more honestly cast for, or ever appeared more innocent in the rôle of corrupter of youth. He was a quiet, shy, unobtrusive person; he was handicapped by an impediment in speech and a partial deafness; in conversation and class-room he was never glib. He had none of the dynamic energy, the flash of colorful speech, the lively quality of hippodrome which marks the superficially good teacher. There was only the intense fire back of his dark eyes to give the show away. He did not attack conventional beliefs, dramatize issues, stage controversies, or attempt to shock the conventionally-minded. He was quietly concerned with that abstract and remote thing "social



theory"; his talk was all about assumptions, points of view, concepts, and ideas, all matters a bit hard to get excited about. He did not proclaim his speculations "important," or even apply them to the questions of the day about which men differed. For the most part it was, "it seems to me," "sometimes I think," and "often I wonder." He never disposed of the issues we brought him; instead he suggested new ways of looking at the problems or else gave us different questions to worry about. His seminar was always his seminar; the discussion went where he would; yet, unless he had a paper to read, he kept control by mere casual suggestions. His "instruction," if such it was, of course never got anywhere; that was the reason it was so insidiously effective. Cooley never told us what to do, or how to do it. Our excursions into learning and unlearning were our own—or at least not his. But whatever we thought or wrote, we thought or wrote differently because of his subtle influence.

It was our luck to chance upon him in the flush of his creative work. Like most of us he had begun academic life as an economist. He had gone the way along which we were blundering; that is one reason he understood our problems, doubts, and confusions so well. If for a time he stuck to his craft, his thoughts were straying elsewhere. The titles of his early studies, *Personal Competition* and *A Theory of Transportation* were innocent enough; they could cause no worry to the orthodox; yet the first is concerned with an "institution" and the second has a "functional approach." Their completion left him with fresh leads; he became absorbed in the relation of the individual to society, and embarked upon that adventure of mind which resulted in his great trilogy. *Human Nature and the Social Order* had been published in 1902, and *Social Organization*

followed in 1909. We found him just beginning the studies which in 1918 were to appear as *Social Process*. He shared with us the progress of his creative labors; from very faint beginnings we watched that work take shape at his hands.

It is not easy to set down what we got from Cooley. If it could be done, it would not be half so important. How much of the freshness that came into our intellectual outlook was his, how much came from reading and conversation and other exposures, I cannot say. We had been taught an economics made up of principles as neatly articulated as the laws of physics; he helped us to see it as a system of thought, rooted in ideas, a product of a particular time and place. In a short paper, written for our seminar, which later we persuaded him to print, he characterized neo-classical doctrine as "an attempt to tell time by the second hand of the watch." He helped us to see the industrial system, not as an automatic self-regulating mechanism, but as a complex of institutions in process of development. He may never have said so; but from him we eventually learned that business, as well as the state, is a scheme of arrangements, and that our choice is not between regulation and letting things alone, but between one scheme of control and another. In some way he forced us to give up our common sense notions, led us away from an atomic individualism, made us see "life as an organic whole," and revealed to us "the individual" and "society" remaking each other in an endless process of change. Underneath it all were a few simple, basic ideas, that made inquiry fruitful whether the study was concerned with the market, marriage, or contract; with freedom, property, or inheritance.

And it was all done so honestly, so quietly, so undisturbingly that we did not

look upon him as the author of our corruption. Once Cooley was asked for an opinion upon one of those trumped-up issues which serve for mighty academic controversy. His reply was, "Do you remember the great quarrel over the method of baptism, sprinkling or immersion?" "Yes." "How was that settled?" A distinct service of his was in making us see that issues may be of the mind and had best be forgotten. A suggestion from him often effected a revolution in the habits of a youngster. A cub once handed to him a dreadfully erudite essay filled with the polysyllabic slang of the academic trade. Cooley pencilled on the back, "This may be self-expression; but it is not communication." The writer, after all these years, is still a sorry scribbler; but a great deal of the very little he has learned about writing is due to that casual remark. An idea would come from the blue; Cooley would jot down a note or two. At his first free moment he would attempt to think the matter through; then he wrote it out and filed it away. Later it appeared, more or less rewritten as a section in a chapter. You will find his books full of such units; quite in accord with his own notion of process, they grew. In the face of such a procedure it was hard for us to keep the faith or to pass on a rigid body of knowledge. We, too, must know the zest of inquiry.

As his manner was quiet, so was his life uneventful. He was born at Ann Arbor in 1864; he died at Ann Arbor in 1929. His father Thomas M. Cooley was a man of action; he edited *Blackstone*, was a great judge, helped along the development of American law, created the Michigan law school, agitated for railroad reform, filled public offices, and served as first chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The son, Charles Horton, spent his life quietly as a student. He

took his undergraduate work at Michigan; he had his graduate training at Michigan; from Michigan he received his doctor's degree. After a short period in government work at Washington, where he learned how valuable statistics are and what they cannot be made to do, he returned to Michigan to teach, to inquire and to think. In spite of repeated calls to go elsewhere he remained at Michigan. His hours of creative work were given to a single university; the years of his life were tolled off one by one in a single town. Yet he was able to free young men from slavery to the little intellectual systems of time and place. His daily orbit lay between Forest Avenue and the Economics Building; yet out of it there came *Life and the Student*.

This is not the place to tell off Cooley's "Contributions" and to pass them in critical review. It will be agreed that he set for himself a heroic and a worthwhile task. An accepted social theory, the ultimate term of which was the individual, was inadequate to explain contemporary society. Individualism, as philosophy, institution, and reform, was outworn. The complex life of the modern world was not to be crowded into mechanical formulas. Cooley set about elaborating concepts of "the individual" and of "society" adequate alike for a study of social organization and the formulation of a social program. It is idle to attempt to record the measure of his success; that is a thing which no person can tell another; yet each may judge the matter for himself. Let me suggest to anyone who will essay it an engaging venture in appraisal. First, read the parts of John Stuart Mill which are most nearly social theory; second, run through the volumes penned by Thomas Hill Green; third, follow again the thread that runs through Cooley's trilogy; and, finally, turn to left and right,

and dip into Cooley's contemporaries. Such a procedure will not result in assigning Cooley to his rank among social thinkers; but it will throw into sharp perspective his fresh and penetrating approach. It will surely reveal the debt we owe him for invaluable aids towards an understanding of human society.

It is to Cooley's lasting credit that his own work has already become a bit "old-fashioned." He could hardly escape the evangelical world in which he was brought up; today many persons are superiorly tolerant of the sweetness and light and betterment to be found in his pages. Today in many a book concerned with particular problems his social philosophy is to be found; there it is more relevantly full of meaning than in his abstract accounts. The same general social theory is being rewritten by men who come at it later, who have the advantages of the borrower, and who give to it an articulate

form which a creator is powerless to impart. Some of us, perhaps ourselves a little craftworn, will continue to prefer the original, distinguished or marred by the marks of the tortuous growth of thought. And surely the books will remain as evidences that inquiry may result alike in scholarship and in literature.

A good old English word "radical" has of late been abused and has fallen into very low estate. Its real meaning is "a person who persists in getting to the root of the matter." Cooley was one of the great intellectual radicals of his generation. As to the quality of his radicalism, the content of his contribution, his precedence or subsequence with ideas and doctrines, we may let academicians dispute. In the decades ahead they are sure to do so, with or without our leave; they have time for such matters. But the Cooley we knew would never bother his head with such questions.

## SOME ASPECTS OF MENTAL HYGIENE AND RELIGION<sup>1</sup>

ERNEST R. GROVES

THERE is, and since the days of the Greek thinkers there has been, much speculation regarding the origin and the significance of religion. This is not strange since religion, whether thought of as an individual or social experience, is one of the most impressive of human interests. In importance it rivals the family, the state, and industry, and

no discussion of mental hygiene would be complete if man's religious experiences were ignored. The diversity of these experiences, however, makes treatment difficult. The term religion has to be highly abstract, since it attempts to generalize the greatest differences possible in emotion, thinking, and behavior. The multitude of creeds, the striking peculiarities of beliefs, the various sorts of worship, all having appeal for certain individuals, and the great diversity in moral preaching in the different faiths and churches, reveal the complexity of the experiences that we designate religious. Fortunately,

<sup>1</sup> In this discussion it has been necessary to reserve for later treatment elsewhere several related topics, including spiritual healing, mental hygiene and the training of the minister, some experiments in mental hygiene carried on by churches, and the religious goal of mental hygiene. E. R. G.



mental hygiene is not directly concerned with the origin of religion, nor is it obliged to tie itself to some particular form of religious experience and insist upon this as the norm. Avoiding any attempt to standardize religion in the effort to define the most desirable type, mental hygiene is free to recognize both the social and personal values and the problems associated with religion as an expression of human needs.

The opportunity for speculation regarding the nature of religion and its beginning has not been neglected by those interested in psychology, and some of these theories do carry practical consequences for mental hygiene. Psychoanalysis in its literature has also given much thought to religious experience and the genius of Freud has expressed itself in interpretation of the religious motive.<sup>2</sup> In these various treatments of religious phenomena, the thing that most concerns the mental hygiene student is the significance of fear as an emotion in religion. If, for example, such a Freudian explanation as the following is accepted, immediately it influences the mental hygiene program.

Fear is the determining stimulus to the regressive myth-making phantasy. Of course the fear that stimulates modern religious faith is not a primitive fear of certain places or persons. It is rather a complex dread of life and its tasks as a whole. When dangers threaten mental peace or physical health, the instinct of fear counsels men to retreat from an intolerable situation. Viewed thus religion appears to be a psychical flight from a dark and threatening reality. The sensitive person who feels inwardly incapable of resisting the blows of fortune seeks escape from the real present in a religious world of phantasy or faith. Religion is indeed a safety valve for the strained mind.<sup>3</sup>

Religion is many-sided and perhaps from the first it has been less simple than in

<sup>2</sup> See C. Moxon, "Religion in the Light of Psychoanalysis," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, January 1921, pp. 92-98.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

theory we are wont to think. Growing knowledge of the religious attitudes of savage people shows us that fear has a large place in their beliefs, but it does not follow, as many claim, that religion was in its beginnings an expression of fear. Leonard's statement seems more reasonable:

There was in the beginning no conscious effort, on man's part, to develop any religion. On the contrary, his suspicions and fears, his confidence and veneration, were but the spontaneous outcome of his natural instincts—an outcome of the emotions that he could no more check than he could cease to exist or to propagate.<sup>4</sup>

Primitive man found his environment saturated with fear, born of his ignorance, and in his efforts to escape from the dangers that faced him from every side he was irresistibly drawn toward the supernatural, driven both by his yearnings and his need of security. This interpretation is at least closest to the attitude that mental hygiene has to take as it deals with religious experience in the modern world.

#### THE RELATION OF MENTAL HYGIENE AND RELIGION

There are many points of contact between hygiene and religion. Each deals with human nature in the effort to produce right ways of living. In the religious motives of each individual mental hygiene finds either a strong ally or a stubborn antagonist. Religion furnishes a goal for human achievement and the character of this decides whether mental hygiene obtains support in the working out of its program or meets an opponent that may defeat its best endeavors. Everything depends upon the type of religious experience that has become characteristic of the individual. Although mental hygiene cannot always count upon religion as an

<sup>4</sup> A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and Its Tribes*, p. 8.

ally, it never safely ignores the religious life of any individual, for if the religious experience furnishes no assistance in the working out of a wholesome life program, it necessarily builds up an outlook upon life that antagonizes wholesome behavior. Since religion offers such a powerful motivation, the mental hygienist usually finds it a help-mate in any effort to reconstruct character and re-educate the individual to meet with success the demands life puts upon him. On account of the variations of religious experience which may appear in forms suggesting perversity because of the unsocial attitudes encouraged, it is not sufficient to think of religion as determining the purposes of life, and mental hygiene as developing a technique for their attainment. When the goal is in accord with mental hygiene's teaching, this desirable relationship follows. Such a situation is not always present. The emotional appeal religion makes gives opportunity for a morbid slant upon life which leads to feeling and acting exactly contrary to the teachings of mental hygiene. When this is true we have a sharp clashing of emotionalism on one side with science on the other. In cases such as these mental hygiene treats the religious influence as a major part of the problem presented by the individual's maladjustment to life.<sup>5</sup>

#### CONFLICT AND RELIGION

Within the domain of Christianity, especially Protestantism, religious conflict, primarily during the adolescent period, has been so common as to seem

<sup>5</sup> The desirable relationship between mental hygiene and science and religion is clearly brought out by an article by Rev. P. M. Grant, "Moral and Religious Life of the Individual in the Light of the New Psychology," *Mental Hygiene*, July, 1928. For a discussion of pathological types in religion, see W. F. Swisher, *Religion and the New Psychology*, Ch. vii, "Pathological Religious Types."

the normal experience. As mental hygiene views this, it is one aspect of the growing-up process and represents much more than may appear on the surface. In part it is a collision between earlier habits, both of thought and emotion, and new ideas. In part it is also a breaking away from parental authority and the development of personal beliefs rather than clinging to the doctrines that were conveyed by church and home and formerly accepted as a matter of course. History records a multitude of such conflicts, and until religion changes as rapidly as do the other characteristics of one generation compared with another, such occurrences are inevitable. Nor does mental hygiene think of them as necessarily harmful in their influence. Possibly a more desirable development would be so gradual as to make no sharp breaks, but aside from the erratic individuals who are insufficient to stand the ordeal, religious conflicts are merely the growing pains of a maturing character.

There is another sort of conflict that centers about religion, which also concerns mental hygiene. This represents the effort to attain moral security. It also is often an awakening that comes to the individual who, interpreting his past conduct as evil, develops a feeling of unworthiness. Even in such cases there is a wide variation in the motives given emphasis. In one person the feeling is that the past is something unworthy that ought to be repudiated, while another individual flees from the wrath of a righteous God and fears eternal punishment unless he finds an opportunity to save his soul. This latter type of conflict flourished in Puritan culture and gave a morbid tinge to the entire life of the believers. Hawthorne, who was one of the first of the psychoanalysts, used his literary skill to portray religious careers

so highly emotional as to reveal what to the scientist of our day would be clearly pathological. It would be, however, unfair merely to charge religion with responsibility for these morbid upheavals of personality and to forget that religion oftentimes should be credited not with the cause of the upheaval, but with power to bring it to a successful conclusion. The sense of guilt is too fundamental and too easily aroused to be thought of as always the product of religious teaching artificially built into the life through morbid instruction. Mental hygiene finds guilt too common an experience to be regarded as something brought into existence by ecclesiastical effort.

#### GUILT AND RELIGION

The guilt feeling that mental hygiene frowns upon, because it has associated with it such morbid possibilities, appears in religion as the sense of sin which is often made the basic concept upon which the doctrine of the church is built. Thus guilt as an emotion has in religion a prominence far beyond that given in mental hygiene. The sense of sin, however, must not be thought of as something superimposed upon human nature, for, as nobody knows better than the mental hygienist, guilt reaction is a characteristic behavior of men and women under the stress of conflict.

Religion has taken over one of the most disturbing of human reactions and has made use of it as a means of influencing character and giving motive to life. In this way religion has opened up relief for those in the throes of sin and by replacing fear with assurance has re-established courage to face the ordeal of living. In thus ministering to those genuinely afflicted with a tremendous inner conflict, religion has run the risk, from which it has not altogether escaped, of encouraging and

even artificially inducing guilt feeling. In extolling the victory of one man it has incited imitation in many others who have been led to express a guilt feeling that they otherwise might not have had. In organizing its doctrine so as to show its power to deal adequately with personal sin, it has been tempted to insist upon the experience as necessary for a normal start in the religious life.

The value of religion's service will be discounted unless it is frankly recognized that organized religion has had to deal with human nature in the mass as it concretely shows itself and that the emotional behavior of most men and women has not travelled far from childhood experience. Mature in many respects, they make little headway in emotional growth. On the level where their emotional life is lodged, the feeling of guilt becomes for many of them, especially the most sensitive, as spontaneous as it is among children who develop conflict. In the adults, however, the feeling is largely self-made, or at least appears to come from the individual's own feeling; while in the case of children, if guilt arises, it is frequently associated with the pronouncement of blame by older persons. Thus the self-appraisal that leads to a sense of sin is a step toward maturity, because it contains an element of self-judgment. It is because of this feeling of failure that religion has a chance to give assurance and to furnish an incentive toward a better adjusted and more social way of living. It is the bane of any doctrine that attempts to satisfy human needs that it easily becomes formalistic and mechanical and operates without regard for personal differences. When this occurs in religious experience what otherwise would be a means of relieving a sense of failure and of giving inspiration becomes instead the forcing upon the individual of a fictitious experience which is



doubly morbid, being both artificial and unwholesome. When the guilt feeling arises there is need of assurance from some source outside the person. Self-forgiveness seems to be impossible. This fact lends force to the interpretation of the psychoanalyst who finds in the experience a reversal to childhood dependency. Just as the child developing a feeling of blameworthiness seeks from the parent forgiveness and reinstatement into good graces, so the guilty sinner seeks from some outside source the security that once he had from the father or the mother. Viewed from this angle guilt is lack of self-sufficiency, the feeling of need of support. It is the reaction of the emotional orphan who must escape his loneliness and helplessness and again have the sense of belonging.

There is a great difference between the attitude mental hygiene takes toward the experiences that issue in guilt and the interpretation of the churches. The latter puts upon the individual the full responsibility and offers him the means of release. To the theologian sin is personal. The scientist goes behind the individual and finds a social situation of which the individual is a product. He is a victim of events and of tradition. Even if his guilt is purely imaginary, his predicament is not charged to him directly since it is the consequence of preceding influences. To the theologian this dilutes the sense of sin by spreading it through the community, and since sin cannot be personified it loses its dramatic element and has less force as a motive to reconstruct the life. The student of mental hygiene, on the other hand, sees in the orthodox procedure a failure to get at the sources that control character, leading either to the torturing of the individual for not changing what is beyond his power, or permitting him to cover over or drive out of consciousness

his fundamental difficulties in adjustment to life.

This situation is exactly parallel to what once was true when physical diseases were thought to be the direct edict of supernatural sources attempting to bring vengeance upon men and women for going astray. Finally the microscope and the laboratory convinced most people that there were specific causes for the various infectious diseases and soon science began to conquer and to prevent because it had a clue to the source of trouble. The movement of psychological and social science is irresistibly toward finding in the social situation that determines character the casual influences that lead to the bad adjustment so frequently expressed in the feeling of guilt.

In spite of these differences of interpretation, in dealing with the concrete individual who needs incentive and confidence as certainly as he requires explanation and diagnosis, the church and mental hygiene specialists work hand in hand. As will be described later there are experiments seeking closer coöperation of church and science in the effort to minister to the mentally and socially sick.

#### MENTAL DISORDER AND GUILT

It is not surprising that we find among those seriously afflicted with mental diseases many illustrations of extreme, morbid guilt reactions. Nearly every insane hospital has a sizeable group of persons who think they have committed the unpardonable sin. Accompanying their disorder is an irresistible impulse to account for their abject failure and hopelessness. They fall back upon the terrifying passage of Scripture which announces that there is one sin that can never be pardoned. This permits them to read back into their earlier career and find some occurrence that they can interpret as responsible for their diffi-

culty, an evil from which they cannot escape.

It is not always true that guilt wells up in the consciousness of patients suffering from mental disorders. There are times when depression has gone so far as to drive from the person the original thought with which was tied the gloom or anxiety to which the individual became captive. In such cases, although the discomfort remains, it is given a new explanation, which conceals its relations to the guilt feeling that on account of its unpleasantness has been forced out of consciousness.

#### ISOLATION AND GUILT FEELING

There is one aspect of the guilt experience which particularly interests the mental hygienist and that is the social isolation felt by the sufferer. He retreats within himself not merely for self-defense, but primarily because he has a sense of shame and the belief that everyone has turned against him on account of his misdoings. In mild form the literature of Puritanism is replete with illustrations of the loneliness of tortured souls who thought themselves separated by their sins from their associates. Such reactions start them on the roadway toward mental disease, for as ties of relationship are broken, morbid trends gather headway and to the inner discord must be added social separation. Membership in the group whose standards are accepted as authority proves an efficient barrier against mental disorders. Perhaps no one has described the tremendous sense of being forsaken on account of sin with more self-revelation than the English poet, William Cowper.

#### CONFESSION

The child who thinks himself estranged from his parents whom he loves on account of guilt feeling is driven by overwhelming

impulse to confess his fault and by obtaining forgiveness to have again complete fellowship. This experience discloses in simple form the human need of reconciliation which in the adult appears as an urge to rid himself of the sense of sin by some sort of confession. The Roman Catholic Church's provision for oracular confession to the priest has a moral and therapeutic value which the protestant churches generally lack. Unquestionably the psychiatrist is frequently called upon to act the rôle of the priest, listening to expressions of some guilt that the patient dares not share with anyone except when protected by the professional code of secrecy, and assuring the patient that the guilt need not longer be carried as a hidden burden. Protestantism needs to develop a better method of dealing with personal guilt than public confession of general sinfulness. There is a craving to particularize the guilt, to definitely get rid of the burden and this impulse at present is adequately recognized only by the Roman Catholic confession.

#### THE REVIVAL

It is apparent that man's proneness to develop guilt feeling offers those gifted in the stirring of religious emotions a tempting opportunity. How significant this has been in the history of the United States is not yet commonly understood, since we are still too near the era of the evangelist to realize fully the important function he has had as the most powerful religious leader. Theology, by building its system upon the commonly accepted religious emotion of guilt-feeling, provided for the evangelist the most favorable conditions. The evangelist was the common denominator of the American colonists, and the first influence that gave the separate provinces a semblance of unity was the sweeping over the entire territory

of religious emotionalism.<sup>6</sup> As we of a different setting look backward upon the era of the revivalist, it is the morbidity that was brought forth by the movement that attracts our attention. As we of a happier time react against this, we are led to discount the value of the revival as a means of bringing about more adequate adjustment for the great majority of those that came under its influence. It was a crude process of therapeutics because it used mass suggestion and played upon primitive emotions, but it did influence a multitude to face squarely the realities of their time and place, leading to a moral strengthening of character and more wholesome standards of living. Its emphasis upon the individual and its democratic trend are some of its social consequences which indirectly contributed to healthier standards of living. If it taught a harsh theology and built up fears of a wrathful God, it also furnished an antidote for the feelings it created by offering a salvation which restored the lost soul to the heavenly fellowship from which he was estranged. In the days when the revival flourished, every community had its repeaters who again and again made public confession, but who as everybody expected soon became backsliders. The notoriety that they received has tended to obscure the fact that a larger number continued their professions and made an honest effort to live up to their ideals. The monotony of life in the countryside and village encouraged the revival which afforded relief from the barren life of toil endured by many. At present the movies, the radio, and the newspapers and magazines satisfy needs that once were met by the revival with its experiences of tragedy and comedy, its emotionalism and ever-present opportunity for the spectacular.

<sup>6</sup> James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society*, 1690-1763, p. 286.

In the city the revival was an expression of that crowd psychology which now seeks different outlets. The revival has probably lost ground more because of its modern competitors, among which the movies are outstanding, than because of changes in fundamental religious attitude.

#### CONVERSION

In the evangelical churches conversion has been the means of entering the Christian life. Not long since, as in remote sections at the present time, it was seriously debated by Christian leaders whether one could be a Christian unless he had first gone through a spectacular conversion which had given him the certainty of being saved. The temptation such a doctrine provided for unstable personalities is apparent, but it is surely an exaggeration to claim, as Swischer has, that all those who were converted were sick souls, expressing the neurotic needs of a divided self.<sup>7</sup> Such interpretation fails to take into account the influence of social fashion. When becoming converted was the standard experience expected of all rightly developing religious people, it surely had a different significance than it does today when the church is primarily concerned with educating the young in such a way as to preclude the necessity of any violent upheaval such as once was the accepted thing. Conversion represented escape from the feeling of guilt. It was a being born again, and literally did for many reorganize their inner life. It was a point of departure from which they dated their higher aspirations.

It was in the conviction of sin that the greater risk of morbidity was lodged, and when so much was done to stimulate introspection and repentance a way of escape had to be provided. The publicity that

<sup>7</sup> W. F. Swischer, *Religion and the New Psychology*, p. 147.



confession received, associated as it often was with most dramatic occurrences, made it stand out in the life of the individual as the most distinguishable of all of his experiences. Because of this all the moral and spiritual efforts and aspirations were built upon it. Therefore it was not a mere fiction, but a genuine recasting of the personality, lifting the majority to higher levels of behavior. Even many of those who clearly revealed neurotic tendencies as they passed through this experience, for example John Bunyan and George Fox, were in the end better integrated since it lessened their inner conflict and made possible a better adjustment to life. The large place that conversion had in the religious program during the dominance of evangelism created special difficulty for the conscientious, calm-minded individuals who found it distasteful to follow the prevailing religious fashion.

It is well to remember that conversion was often closely allied to inferiority feeling, that it offered thus one distinction to many prosaic lives. Against the gray of ordinary experience appeared this vivid and public recognition of the value of the individual to the church, the community, and even to God himself. This motive was played upon skillfully by the popular evangelist, and not without results. For a multitude conversion in the revival became the most vital satisfaction of the will-to-power cravings realized during their life time.

It is important also to notice how directly the guilt feeling was related in the life of many to their primitive emotions, especially those connected with sex. It was in regard to sex that strain was felt, and the conflict was similar to the warfare between the flesh and spirit so forcefully depicted by St. Paul. Conversion did not always give complete victory to the higher impulses, but it usually tipped

the balance on the side of self-control, thus leading to a more unified personality. Thus conversion provided entrance into the religious life, and according to the Protestant formula faith gave the vigor that made it possible for the believer to carry on.

In making so much of faith the church did not create a special ecclesiastical impulse, but took over something universal among men and women and adapted it to the special doctrines and the purposes of the church. In the words of St. Paul, "Faith is assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen." In its wide meaning it is a human need, for it both establishes the security we must have and at the same time gives promise of satisfactions not yet experienced. It is found everywhere because men and women, in their various contacts with life, require the feeling of security, a foundation for hope. Thus faith became an antidote for fear, and was especially serviceable as a means of taking away the guilt feeling, which contained so much of morbid risk. It also gave the believer, just as it does today, the means of supporting himself in periods of trial and dismay by his reminiscence of the high moments of his life. As the Christian oscillated from feelings of depression and defeat and those of elevation and success, he could draw through faith upon his confidence in the Heavenly Father to tide over his periods of discouragement. This has been well expressed by Browning;<sup>8</sup>

The more of doubt, the stronger faith, I say,  
If faith o'ercomes doubt. . . .

Mental hygiene recognizes that faith works wonders not only in religious experience and in the ordinary undertakings of life, but especially in psychotherapy.

<sup>8</sup> *Browning's Complete Poetical Works*, Cambridge Edition, p. 354.

where expectation counts so strongly in favor of the patient. The specialist welcomes as an ally strong faith without regard to the form it takes, because he knows it will give the patient a sense of security and a hopefulness which will reinforce all the influences that are making for better mental health.

Mental hygiene also knows that the subjective basis of faith carries the danger that actual facts may be pushed aside by what is nothing less than a special sort of daydreaming. Since faith issues from wishes, it is not unlike the child's reverie. Necessarily this permits faith to take the place not only of works, but of judgment. That faith must be confined within its proper territory is felt by nearly all who make use of it as a religious motive. But there are great differences in estimating where it belongs and where it intrudes. Faith, in so far as it is related to beliefs that are born of human ignorance, or to attempts to control nature through mere willful thinking, is constantly being replaced by the accumulation of knowledge brought by science. As soon as the means of accomplishing any definite thing are thoroughly understood through experiment and investigation, we turn to the knowledge gained as a resource in our efforts to accomplish our purposes rather than to faith. But mental hygiene appreciates that no life is consistently scientific and that there are voids in existing knowledge which faith alone can fill. It also values the faith that gives one's life the general temper of confidence. Thus mental hygiene dreads the faith that pushes itself where knowledge is already supreme, while at the same time welcoming the same attitude as it flavors the life of the individual with assurance and serenity.

Mental hygiene senses the loss that has come to those who have given up their

faith and found no substitute, just as it realizes that there is not in the modern world anything that satisfactorily replaces the old-time conversion as a mechanism for changing life in the mass and starting it toward higher levels of living.

#### PRAYER

Prayer in some form always accompanies religious faith. A thoroughgoing discussion of the significance of prayer would involve exploring the entire territory of religion; since nothing reveals the characteristics of any religious doctrine more clearly than the ideas and practices of prayer. Fortunately in treating prayer from the mental hygiene aspects it is not necessary to deal with it so extensively. Although the interest of mental hygiene in prayer is restricted, it is extremely practical. Prayer in the life of the believer has a definite function, and one that influences personality to a degree that makes it, according to its character, a morbid or healthful factor in the life. Each type of prayer, however, must be judged upon the level where it appears, and it would be contrary to the principles of mental hygiene to estimate its value to any person by measuring its distance from what the investigator might choose as the norm on what to him appears to be the highest level of religious experience. Mental hygiene is not interested in standardizing prayer, but in discovering the way it functions to hurt or to help the individual to adjust himself to the environment in which he has been placed.

The motives of prayer are many, and the theorist is likely to choose one of these and build upon it his interpretation of the nature of prayer. Human experience, in all times and places, reveals prayer in operation. If these various expressions can be drawn together in one general motive, it would be that prayer comes

from human need seeking supernatural help. Prayer casts out fear, destroys isolation, and inspires confidence. It is born of the desire for security and is so universally found among men that it is not strange that it has been considered the expression of an instinct and is even yet so regarded by many. In our time, however, a more careful use of the term "instinct" forbids the scientist's assuming an instinct of prayer because supplication is so common. If there be an instinct of self-preservation, prayer is surely related to it, for prayer issues from a sense of dependence and a belief that help can be had. Prayer, as it is practiced, is not merely an expression of finite helplessness; it is also, as it appears in the lives of men and women, an attempt at wish-fulfillment. Thus, in the experience of some people, it is distinctly related to the magic that flourishes in primitive society and thus far has never been absent from any civilization.

The following prayers, taken from an African tribe, are representative of savage experience and disclose the various motives involved:

"Ye spirits, spirits of my departed ancestors, protect me on my journey (or, let my hunting prosper, and so on) and guard my children and keep them safe while I am away."<sup>9</sup>

"Thus God, we are all thy people. Send us rain!"<sup>10</sup>

Prayer in savage society, as with us, is more than a mere belief in supernatural power. There also has to be faith that this power is approachable. This is well brought out by the following remark of an African savage.

"We never pray to God because we do not know Him, but we pray to leaves, fetishes, and to the Dead."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> F. H. Melland, *In Witchbound Africa*, p. 134

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> G. Cyril Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, p. 151.

We, of the modern mind, think of prayer upon a higher and a lower level. On the latter it tends to be an effort to make use of power to supplement the inability of the supplicant to deal with his circumstances. The wishes turn outward and seek assistance as a means of getting security or winning success. On the higher level prayer tends to be primarily fellowship and resignation. Here the wishes turn inward, and the individual craves a sense of contact with the unseen as a means of achieving inward peace. Whatever one's theory with reference to the reality of prayer as a means of changing outside circumstances, it is important to recognize that prayer on either the higher or the lower level may act to release unused resources in the life of the individual by giving him a sense of confidence and freeing him from the paralysis of fear or the depression of loneliness. Worcester repeats a quotation that describes the effect of Luther's prayer when he arrived to find his co-laborer, Philip Melancthon, apparently dying from an illness which was in part due to the feeling of remorse.

When Luther arrived he found Melancthon apparently dying; his eyes were sunk, his sense gone, his face fallen in and hollow, and as Luther said, "*Facies erat Hippocratica.*" He knew nobody, ate and drank nothing. When Luther saw him thus disfigured, he was frightened above measure and said to his companions, "God forfend, how has the Devil defaced this Organon!" He then turned forthwith to the window and prayed fervently to God . . . Hereupon he grasped Philip by the hand: "Be of good courage, Philip, thou shalt not die; give no place to the spirit of sorrow, and be not thine own murderer, but trust in the Lord, who can slay and make alive again, can wound and bind up, can smite and heal again." For Luther well knew the burden of his heart and conscience. . . . Then Philip by degrees became more cheerful and let Luther order something to eat and Luther brought it himself to him, but Philip refused it. Then Luther forced him with these threats, saying, "Hark, Philip, thou must eat, or I excommunicate thee."



With these words he was overcome so that he ate a very little and thus by degrees he gained strength again.<sup>13</sup>

This dymogenic power of prayer which exchanges in the believer hopelessness and guilt feeling for confidence and eagerness to demonstrate repentance is familiar to the specialist in mental therapeutics who often welcomes as an ally his patient's belief in prayer. When employed to turn one from despair to face an ordeal with assurance of final victory, prayer gathers up the resources of the life whose unity has been broken by conflict and starts the individual toward success.<sup>13</sup>

The following prayer of Mohammed uses the desires of a desert people to make vivid the higher need of divine fellowship. By putting the first in contrast with the second a most impressive supplication is produced:

O Lord, grant us to love thee; grant that we may love those that love Thee; grant that we may do the deeds that win Thy love. Make the love of Thee to be dearer to us than ourselves, our families, than wealth, and even than cool water. Amen.<sup>14</sup>

#### MYSTICISM

Although mysticism is not necessarily confined to religious experience, it almost always takes on a religious aspect and finds in religious faith its supreme expression. Religious mysticism shows itself in various forms and offers neurotics an opportunity which they have used to the uttermost. As a consequence of the morbid outlook upon life characteristic of many mystics celebrated in history, all mysticism has come to be regarded by some writers as evidence of mental unsoundness. They have found in the mystic experience the essential meaning of

religion which they have described as something similar to the neurosis. Recently Freud has announced his explanation of religion. It is a clinging to childhood desires and illusions which the weakness of the individual and his fear of life or lack of preparation to deal with it forces him to nourish since were he to face the facts as they are, he would suffer from utter helplessness.<sup>15</sup> The same idea was previously expressed by Everett Dean Martin in *The Mystery of Religion*. A similar notion of religion as a narcotic obtained through mysticism appeared in a still earlier discussion written by the author, but this cannot in fairness be regarded as a just description of all mysticism.<sup>16</sup>

Only the extreme partisan will deny the narcotic characteristic that appears in mysticism. Even Freud himself, however, admits that this sort of religious experience is advantageous for some individuals. It may not be for them the heroic facing of life, but by making use of its protection they are better able to endure their hardships, and although their policy may not be that of the healthy minded, they are hardly to be censored by finding a refuge that protects them from inevitable disaster. If under certain circumstances even insanity has a benign influence and serves as a biological protection against unendurable suffering, mysticism of the neurotic type offers a refuge that those experienced in human need would hesitate to snatch away.

There is, however, a different interpretation of mysticism expressed especially by Hinkle, who compares the experience with that of the artist.<sup>17</sup> As she sees it, mysticism is a kind of creative mechanism

<sup>13</sup> Elwood Worcester, *Religion and Medicine*, pp. 310-311.

<sup>14</sup> For the relation of magic and religion see: Levy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, Chs. i and ii.

<sup>15</sup> S. F. Fox, *A Chain of Prayer Across the Ages*, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Future of an Illusion*, p. 85.

<sup>17</sup> E. R. Groves, "An Unsocial Element in Religion," *The American Journal of Sociology*, xxii, 657-662.

<sup>17</sup> B. H. Hinkle, *The Recreating of the Individual*, pp. 340-347, 355.

which suggests a capacity of which the average human being does not dream. She rules out the pseudo-mysticism hysterical experiences, just as she would the same sort of phenomena in the realm of art, and considers true mysticism the lifting of the individual to self-possession and a sense of unity on the highest level of his experience. From this point of view the mystic has an inner source of strength which permits him to make a final adjustment of physical and spiritual conflicts, so that with serenity he views life without disturbing conflicts and with no temptation to accept counterfeit values. It is in limiting mysticism to retreat and in failing to appreciate the different sort of mystic experience which provides a final settlement for the conflicting impulses which harrass most people throughout life that many critics of mysticism err.

Lord Shaftesbury illustrates forcefully the mystic who is strengthened for a long ordeal and who, because of the roots from which he draws his inspiration, can continue through discouragement, loneliness, and misunderstanding without ever thinking of deviating from the hard path he has chosen. His religion has been described as simple, rigid, final, and ex-

clusive.<sup>18</sup> The harder his task grew, the more he fell back upon God, but this was not retreat, but merely the lifting of the conflict to a level where the final victory could not be doubted. His experience literally suggests the simile of Phillips Brooks who compared the life assured of God as having the quiet of the deep sea, however tumultuous its surface. As the Hammonds say, Lord Shaftesbury, far ahead of his period in making war against exploitation and in attempting to serve those who had no understanding of the help he brought, could not have gone on calmly without the sustaining force of religion.<sup>19</sup> In such experiences mental hygiene sees complete commitment to the task at hand and a final settlement of emotional conflict which releases the individual from inward tension, permitting him to put all his resources into his chosen purpose. Although recognizing that this unity comes to many through religion, mental hygiene does not insist that such compelling motivation can come only in this way.

<sup>18</sup> J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury*, p. 240.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

## FACTORS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

RAY ERWIN BABER

THE strength of law has varied with time and place, rising and falling with the fortunes of history, yet no society of any considerable size or importance has ever sought to do away with it, or even intentionally allowed it to fall into decay. Rather, it has been considered the chief support of the social structure, and society, as it has grown older, has

leaned with increasing weight—as well as increasing insecurity—upon this overburdened staff. When other props have bent, it has been called upon to bear the increased load, and the strain has brought signs of collapse. There are those today who, seeing this danger, would adjust the task of law to its strength, making other supports bear their share of the burden.

That we have in America today a decreasing effectiveness of, and a growing disrespect for law appears axiomatic in the public eye. Our concern over the situation has grown to alarm. Even before President Hoover's Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement had been appointed, numerous inquiries had been inaugurated by scholars and social workers, citizens' vigilance committees had sprung up, private organizations had offered large rewards for dead robbers, and indignant citizens had even called upon the federal government for the protection which their local forces of law either could not or would not provide.

It is possible to discern quite clearly some of the chief factors involved in this growing disrespect for law. One such factor is the new *source* of law. During most of history law was promulgated by the few. It was formulated by an absolute monarch or a small aristocracy, and forced upon the common people without thought of their consent. To disobey was to incur certain punishment, often far out of proportion to the seriousness of the offense. Thus, to break the law was literally to jeopardize one's life. But how different the source of our laws today. In our democracy laws are made by men of our own class and stamp, perchance even our neighbors. True, we choose them to do this task, but there is in the mind of the average man a comfortable assurance, not always tacit, that he could make the laws fully as well as the representatives he helped choose. Consequently, when an unpopular or seemingly foolish law is passed, he has little respect for it and small tendency to obey it. Perhaps this is one of the costs of democracy.

A second and perhaps even greater cause of the growing disrespect for law is twofold; the increasing *multiplicity* of laws, and their invasion of the most minute and

*private areas* of our life. While history reveals early instances of fairly detailed codes of law, man has in the past lived under relatively simple conditions, never even approaching the complexity of modern civilization. Laws were not numerous, being confined usually to a few major crimes of great seriousness and a fairly small number of lesser offenses, covering sufficiently the limited scope of activities and situations of the time. But today all is different. Material and social changes have been so tremendously accelerated that law can scarcely keep pace. Every considerable change in ideas, every important invention, calls for a whole series of new laws. One illustration—the automobile—suffices. One must have a proper car license and place it on the proper part of the car, or he breaks the law; he must not change it to another car, even his own, or he breaks the law; if he drives faster than a certain speed (varying greatly according to place) he breaks the law; he must not turn left on this street or cross that street without stopping, or he breaks the law; if he drives without headlights, or if they are too bright, he breaks the law; if he parks in this place, or at this angle, or longer than a certain time he breaks the law; if he has a puncture on a state highway he cannot stop on the pavement to fix it, or even take the tire off and drive "on the rim" to the next town without breaking the law; and so on *ad nauseum*. Now, the average motorist rebels at much of this restriction and develops a code of his own, which is to obey only as many of these regulations as he sees "sense" in or as he is forced to obey. Finding no policeman at a stop-street, and no pedestrians or cars crossing at the moment, he does not stop. He argues that he did no harm, for the intent of the law was to protect life, and he endangered no one's life. He frankly admits that had a police-



man been watching he would have stopped, even if there had been no pedestrians or cars in sight, which of course is to admit that the keeping or breaking of the law was for him not determined by his respect for the law in question but by the proximity of an officer and hence the chance of punishment.

Or again, "What right," complains the laborer, "has the law to say that I can't put anything but milk in a milk bottle? Didn't I buy this bottle with my own money? And is it going to hurt anybody if my wife puts coffee in it for my dinner? These laws are getting too darn meddlesome!" He does not understand the chief intent of the law, to protect the health of some baby from the one bottle in ten thousand that was used as a container of poison. "I'm not that much of a fool!" snorts the sportsman when admonished by a friend that he must throw back a trout he has just caught, which is too unaccommodating to stretch the bare half inch necessary to become fair game. "If the legislature is as particular as all that, let it invent elastic trout." And so on. The feeling is prevalent that the law has forsaken its dignity and become a "Peeping Tom," prying into private life. Such laws are dubbed not only futile and foolish, but downright insults to intelligence. Disrespect for them cannot fail to influence to some degree our respect for law in general.

Can we not, then, do away with this dangerous source of disregard for law by decreasing rather than increasing the number of laws? Unfortunately, no. We may confidently look for a steady and rapid increase in their number. Such increase is necessary as society becomes more complex. We can rest assured there will be no dearth of laws. Recently a judge estimated that we have 1,900,000 laws on our statute books. They may

seem entirely too numerous, and perhaps they are; undoubtedly many are unnecessary, and others are left on the books long after their day of usefulness has passed. But that is another story. The disconcerting fact remains that a steady stream of new laws is necessary. When people are isolated they interfere little with each other's movements, but when brought together into a small space they must needs have ample regulatory guidance. Consider the city *versus* the country. Living right against one another makes a multiplicity of small, regulatory laws imperative. Traffic laws, health laws, building laws, and many other kinds of laws are multiplied through sheer necessity, until it seems that a man can hardly go through an hour of the day without being in danger of breaking some law. It is not that "human depravity" is growing. Regulative laws in any complex society are necessary for even the best of citizens. And how much more so for the complex citizenship of an urban, industrial, and changing America. Further increase, then, in the number of laws is inevitable. And just as inevitable is the increase in the disrespect for law. It might almost be said that the number of laws and the regard for them vary in inverse ratio. Certainly here is no comfort for the champion of the supremacy of law.

Still another reason for law being held in so little repute is the *breakdown* of our *judicial system*. Surely "breakdown" is none too strong a term when no less a person than Chief Justice Taft was once led to declare that the administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization. To be sure, the complexity of modern city life greatly increases the varieties of, and the opportunities for crime, as well as the chances of escape without detection. But even so,

with 12,000 murders per year, and burglary, robbery, fraud and other crimes in proportion; with 350,000 men and women (says Judge Kavanagh) making their living wholly or in part by crime, we have just cause for anxiety. When the National Crime Commission points out the comparatively small percentage of arrests for crimes committed, the police are severely criticized, but when it further shows the very much smaller percentage of convictions, the citizen wonders why he should have any respect at all for the courts. When he sees on every hand the possibilities of side-stepping justice, and watches a Remus or a Sinclair walk through the courts untouched (or with a "slap on the wrist" at most) he wonders why they should be called "courts of justice."

Two of these causes of present-day disrespect for law appear to be to a certain degree inevitable, but the third is surely remediable. On the whole, however, the outlook for law as a *main* pillar of the social order appears hopeful only in proportion as other agents come to its aid. One of these—public opinion—is both a support to law and a main pillar of control.

Indeed public opinion as a pillar of social control also appears to show signs of impairment. In times past it has been sturdy enough. Through the whole range of history the power of group opinion has exalted men to heroic planes or lowered them to ignoble depths. But far more significant than the inciting of the few to either extreme of performance has been the steadying influence of group opinion upon the mass of common people, holding them more closely to the path of right living than they would have walked without it. As a stabilizer for the average man it would be hard to over-rate its value.

It must be apparent, however, that we are not here dealing primarily with public opinion on a national scale. Rather, the

type of public opinion with which we are here concerned deals with what Walter Lippman would call the smaller "publics" or groups of a more constant character. Their size is one of the chief secrets of their power. The family, the neighborhood, the country cross-roads, the Russian *mir*, and our own villages and towns are places where group opinion flourishes. Large cities have a certain degree of public opinion on certain topics most of the time, and a high degree on special occasions, but on the whole they cannot compare with the village in this respect. In the small town everyone knows everyone else. The conduct of each is under the strict scrutiny of the others. Deceit and duplicity are difficult, for unusual comings and goings or questionable doings give prompt rise to public criticism. Frequently the first breath of criticism shows so clearly how the wind blows that all thought of further pursuing the questionable action is at once abandoned. Often when decision between worthy and unworthy action hangs in the balance, the weight of group opinion, whether expressed or merely anticipated, is the determining factor, and the day is won.

If today public opinion, in certain of its phases, is losing its power, the chief causes may well be sought in those complementary factors—the cityward drift and the complexity of modern society. What dweller in a small town, as he enters a great city, has not felt the weight of group surveillance slip from his shoulders, leaving a dangerous but exhilarating sense of freedom? The very sensation itself is a silent testimony to the part the group has played in fashioning his conduct, for unconsciously comes the feeling, "Now I am free! I can do as I please, and no one will see or know." Hard upon this thought may come the shame of its recognition, but quite often this alone is insuffi-

cient to deter, while the presence of the familiar group would deter. In such a situation a man has lost the prop of group opinion which helped hold him up.

The force of public opinion is further lessened by the fact that in our present complex society the results of our actions are frequently not clearly seen. For example, most of the relationships in modern business are secondary rather than primary, impersonal rather than personal. One deals not with men and women who are seen and known, but with the *public*. The relationship is made still more impersonal by the fact that it is usually not the business man himself who deals this way or that way, but his company or corporation. The results are twofold: it affects the attitude of the man himself, and the attitude of the public toward him. As an illustration of the first, many merchants who would not sell spurious articles to their friends would not hesitate to sell them to the public. They do not see and know the "public." It is a vague, distant, impersonal consumer that is obliging enough to keep out of view and spare them the sight of the suffering caused by their spurious goods. As an illustration of the second, the man who would starve a baby would be condemned and villified in the strongest terms, and possibly lynched, but the milk magnate who by a clever *coup* gets a temporary corner on milk, will not be held responsible for the babies that die as a result. A few of clear vision will see the truth, but to the majority he is merely a clever business man reaping the fruits of shrewdness.

This "shooting around the corner," or at "long range," in a highly complex society where fiduciary relationships are extremely intricate, is both easy and common. Cause and effect in such dealings are seldom seen side by side, and men can engage in dishonest business practices and

sidestep justice so cleverly that they stand little chance of having the glare of an angry public fixed upon them. For in the city life of today, unlike the simple life of the village, the average citizen cannot hope to understand all the intricacies of the numerous vocations about him. Each calling has become so specialized and complex that he does well to know the ins and outs of his own. He has little time to explore the countless avenues of other callings, and consequently feels baffled and helpless when he falls victim to their chicanery. He knows not just where to point the accusing finger, nor can he easily find in the conglomerate population a sufficient number of people who happen to be victims of exactly the same treachery, and with sufficient group solidarity to form anything like an effective public opinion. For to be effective public opinion must spring from like-mindedness, that is, a common knowledge, common interest and common bond of sympathy. To secure such oneness in a great city, with its diversity of race, language, religion, occupation, and economic status, calls for a quality of social engineering which is as yet very rare. That we have so few experts of sufficient ability to produce effective "publics" in such environment shows how engrossed we have been in other activities—especially wealth getting—and how quickly and semi-consciously we "got that way," so quickly, in fact, that we are just now fully realizing our predicament. Our initial uneasiness about it has grown to concern of such magnitude that, as one social thinker has expressed it, there is nothing on which the will of society is more determined than to restore to health those small personal-contact groups where social ideals take such deep root.

Today the community organization movement has gained much attention



through its efforts to promote a community spirit or "we feeling" in places where such is singularly lacking. Somewhat similar are the attempts to create small personal groups in the midst of larger ones, such as the neighborhood house and the social center. But the very use of the words "promote" and "create" betrays the fact that such groupings are not entirely natural. In fact it requires considerable social effort to start them, and even more to maintain them. Clearly the total amount of social effort available for such work is limited, and there is every reason to think that the law of diminishing returns would operate here as well as in agriculture. It appears then that in spite of the genuine helpfulness of such efforts, they are not the way out. If much progress is to be made we must find some more promising way. For public opinion, while it shows an occasional evidence of vigor that proves its latent power (such as, on a national scale, the large reduction in the naval appropriation, and on a local scale, the last elections in Chicago) is far from enjoying its old time health. Unless society can restore to health this old and trusted servant, it will lose much of its power to guide the average man in his everyday life, and this it can ill afford to do.

With these twin agents of social control, law and public opinion, diminishing in strength and prestige, to what can we turn? Are there other forms of control that offer more promise in a dynamic time? If so, they must be essentially different in their nature and appeal. Law and public opinion are similar in more ways than those already mentioned; their greatest similarity—and at the same time their greatest weakness—is that they are *controls from without*. Now, granting that external controls are necessary for some

people all of the time, and for all people some of the time, and granting also that in our congested city life many regulatory laws are necessary for all people all of the time, it is indisputable that control from without is not and never can be the highest type of control. The most effective types, those which yield the greatest social gain at the least social cost, are the *controls from within*.

One of the two great inner controls is *education*, including not only the more formal education of young people in schools, but all the willed processes by which society seeks to improve the intelligence and social viewpoint of all ages and classes of people. Now, this statement in itself implies nothing new, for we have been cultivating the field of education for centuries, and it has yielded a vast harvest of social wealth. But in recent years we have not been content with the crop, and each year we are becoming less so. It is as though the yield had failed to keep pace with the growth of need. It is this increasing lag of performance that is being so anxiously scrutinized by educators.

At this point the social sciences are making new assurances that they can really "educate" a man by giving him, in addition to his general and technical knowledge, the "social point of view" necessary to make of him a good citizen. Lester F. Ward, the first eminent American sociologist, based his whole theory of social progress upon universal education, making for it a plea that has not been excelled. The key to his *social telesis* was widely diffused knowledge, but a certain kind of knowledge that understands social relationships and social laws. He maintained that the ills of society can be vanquished only by such knowledge, for where ignorance is rife, exploitation and all manner of social injustices flourish.

We have in this country today a com-

mendable amount of education, though its distribution is faulty. On the face of it "compulsory and free" education seems to extend man's rightful heritage to all. Yet such is not the case, for while we have given some educational opportunity to all, the amount given to the fortunate few has so greatly increased that the gap between the best educated and the most poorly educated has been diminished far less than it appears. It is as though we had pushed upward the whole social hierarchy without greatly changing the relative positions of the different classes. This of course allows exploitation to continue.

But, while the social sciences have little voice in the *amount* of education to be given, they have considerable to say about the *nature* of it. And in spite of their over-enthusiastic claims, never fully paralleled by results, they are performing a great service. Their goal has been primarily a new viewpoint, a *social* viewpoint which would make the individual feel that the social welfare was worth sacrificing for. Even though still relatively in their infancy, the social sciences have done much to clarify social relationships in a complex society. They have taught men to see through the maze of business and professional dealings and to connect social cause and effect, no matter how remote the one seems from the other; they have pointed out the direct and indirect effects of social as well as anti-social conduct; they have learned to diagnose the diseases of society, as well as to stimulate its healthy functions. They are changing from well-meaning but rather superficial methods to equally well-meaning but scientific methods, and the results have in general been good.

But we are still not satisfied with the crop. There still seems to be something lacking. *Reliability of conduct* in all sorts

of life situations is an accurate index of socialization, but in spite of the rapid growth of the social sciences reliable conduct is not becoming sufficiently general. Various causes contribute to this situation. One may be that in the haste to become "scientific" certain of the social sciences have missed the way, and have passed by, without recognizing them, factors just as real and meaningful as those pursued. In some cases this has made untruth appear to be truth, as in the extremely mechanistic view which practically dismisses *responsibility for conduct* from human life. Such a doctrine, if widely accepted, would have very disastrous effects. Perhaps another cause of short performance has been the tendency of the social pathologist to become so absorbed in locating the sore spots of society that he forgets there are strong, healthy parts capable of further development. L. P. Jacks has furnished us a wholesome antidote for an overdose of social pathology. He insists that a constant consideration of society's ills is depressing, and that the thoughtful citizen should turn to the wiser course of seeking out "the sources of existing vitality" in society and strengthening them by every means in his power.

Still another reason why the social sciences may fail to be generally effective is their disinclination to include the element of value so necessary to reliable conduct. *Moral teaching* has come to be shunned, either as bordering too closely upon religion or as being largely outside the scope of scientific knowledge. The first of these charges is true, for every great religion has been tied up more or less closely with a system of morals; the second is clearly untrue, for to declare this vast field of reality to be impossible of scientific approach is to display either bias or ignorance. For as a matter of fact, we do know a great deal about morals.

We were raised among them, we have studied and classified them, and have even sought out their origin. They affect our lives from infancy. We teach them in the home and in such organizations as the Boy Scouts and Girl Reserves, though our methods could be immeasurably improved. But when it comes to including moral teaching in our school curricula we seem to be ruled by some strange inhibition, though we are willing enough to turn over to the schools all other responsibilities possible.

But the question of moral teaching is demanding increased attention. In conventions of educators all over the land one finds a growing concern and a steady search for some way of giving moral instruction that will be acceptable to all. For one may have a thorough knowledge of economics, sociology and political science, but if he be lacking in what Jacks so aptly calls "social valor" he is not well fitted to be a citizen, that is, he is not truly educated. In this social valor there is found not only the courage so central to right action, but also a strong sense of *trusteeship*, the very core of social conduct. No one has more clearly expressed this challenging ideal than has Jacks in this stirring passage:

"Think, then, of some person known to you—and such persons are known to most of us—in whose hands you would feel your own interests to be perfectly safe, a person incapable of betraying your trust, or exploiting it to his own advantage, and you have before you the very ideal of citizenship which all methods of education . . . should aim at realizing; no man can be accounted 'educated' unless he be a man whom his neighbors can trust, the type needed, not only in the high places of power, but in every rank and level of industrial activity, in every workshop or office where goods are produced or services exchanged. Difficult—who doubts it?—but not to be called impossible until a resolute attempt has been made to train citizenship on those lines, which has not been done as yet."<sup>1</sup>

Such a social philosophy must not be handicapped by being confined to the college and university, which only a few enter. To influence the average citizen it must be extended to the high school, and, in suitable form, even to the upper grades of the "common school," for only thus will it ever pervade the thinking of the masses. And it should not stop even there, for oftentimes the less formal education which one receives outside the school outweighs in influence that received in the classroom. The pulpit, the press, the forum, and the home can contribute greatly to the success of such an educational policy. Without their help formal education cannot hope to accomplish the task; it can lead the way, but it needs the vigorous support of other agents.

Among the limitations of higher education as an agent of social control there still remains for consideration what appears to be an inherent inconsistency. At the same time that we are lauding the social sciences, and insisting that those who pass through our colleges should have a thorough grounding in them, we are making education so specialized that it is becoming increasingly difficult for many students to include in their crowded curriculum *any* of the social sciences which prepare most definitely for citizenship, to say nothing of becoming "well-grounded" in them. Not even the growing tendency to postpone specialization until a certain amount of "general" education has been acquired meets the situation, for in the years of pre-specialization the "required" courses which directly prepare for the specialization that is to follow are so numerous, and the "electives" so few, that the postponement brings a very limited gain in opportunity for courses dealing primarily with citizenship. The increasing specialization in the work of the world means an increased demand for specialized training,

<sup>1</sup> L. P. Jacks: *Constructive Citizenship*, pp. 64-65.



which in turn means that the social sciences may find great difficulty in reaching effectively the majority of students.

The second great fashioner of conduct which bases its power on inner control is religion. One cannot study that host of dauntless souls, up through the centuries, whose religion transformed their lives from weakness to strength and inspired them to deeds that surprised even themselves, without acknowledging the tremendous power of religion in molding the lives of men into worthy patterns. It is true that even Christianity, in the past, depended so largely upon the doctrine of rewards and punishments that in the present age of liberating enlightenment it has lost some of its following. But the very intelligence employed in the process of liberation has been keen enough to see that a smaller group, to whom religion was the very antithesis of fear or selfish desire, had persisted all through the centuries. With this group as a nucleus the time was at last ripe for a reinterpretation of religion. This has been taking place before our very eyes, and the last quarter of a century has seen emerge a *socialized* religion (singularly like that of the Hebrew prophets and of the Gospels) which bids fair to have more real strength than religion has had for many a century. For in so far as the sanctions of religion change from the outer to the inner, its *real* strength emerges. The old legal religion of strict accounting was often harsh and unyielding, even conforming at times to situations of grossest injustice; the new socialized religion is based upon the idea of universal brotherhood and the sacredness of all personality, making it impossible for it to condone injustice, or anything else that would belittle man or prevent the fullest development of his personality. But it is based also upon something more, —an adaptive intelligence, without which

religion is helpless to minister to the abundant life.

It is perfectly evident in this day that many consider religion a force that is spent, a light that has failed. Its usefulness in the past, dark with ignorance and superstition, they freely admit, but they claim that today, in the broad daylight of civilization, the lamp of religion is dim and performs no necessary function. Some predict that the flame will completely die out, that the spread of the new outlook on man's origin and past may undermine all existing religions.

Such an outcome is entirely possible, and ought not to be ignored. Should it come to pass it would be exceedingly difficult to find a substitute for religion that would be equally potent, and command the same high type of loyalty and faith. But, all factors considered, there appears to be small probability that religion will entirely pass away.

It is not within the scope of this discussion to set forth the strength or weakness of religion *per se*, but merely to measure its value as an agent of social control. Can socialized religion secure a wide enough spread to make it a universal factor of control? There is considerable evidence that it can. If there is at present a ground-swell of revolt against the trend of irreligion, it is indicative of its potential power. This groping for the guy-ropes is evidenced by the tremendous volume of religious books coming from the press, by the nature of contributed articles and the editorial tone of the better secular magazines, by the interest in religion disclosed in conversations among thoughtful men everywhere, and finally by the revitalized program of churches and other religious organizations. Should this socialized religion find wide acceptance it might become the strongest of all controls. It penetrates where law cannot

go, it carries a conviction which public opinion cannot give, it may even excel its closest running mate and fellow-producer of inner controls,—education.

In spite of the fact that religious education, holding to antiquated and inefficient methods, has lost much of its opportunity and fallen far short of its possibilities, it has been an untold force for good when intelligently employed. On the whole there is some evidence to indicate that the youth from Christian homes and with the best training of Christian institutions have gained a level of *social* performance not attained by those of lesser privilege. Somewhere in their training they learn to rate conduct in terms of social gain or loss. They also learn to stand under fire. Conduct is linked inseparably with material changes such as population movements, inventions, methods of production and distribution, as well as with the continual changes in the psychic forces all about us. The effect of these changes on youth is large. The anonymity of cities, the intricate, indirect methods of business, the opportunity to amass vast fortunes at the expense of others, the rapid increase of luxuries, and similar factors are setting loose in the world today a spirit of unrestraint and exploitation that begets suspicion, hate and strife.

The genius of socialized religion is seen in its method of meeting these conditions. It meets them not by force from without, but by an active good-will which *changes the desire from within*. We cannot force men and women to be good; we cannot raise enough money or hire enough men to watch them. Society cannot operate with half its man power watching, club in hand, the other half. Satisfactory operation, whether of an industrial plant or a whole society, comes only through active good-will which recognizes the rights of *all* as sacred. This is the epitome of the Christian way of living.

We have surveyed briefly *law* and *public opinion*, the two major controls from without, and *education* and *religion*, the two major controls from within. We have seen that the two former appear to be losing their power, but that the two latter, while far from functioning perfectly, hold within them such proven possibilities that their future is encouraging. The strength of the two outer controls diminishes automatically as the urbanization and complexity of society increase. It is conceivable that society may find some way completely to rejuvenate law and public opinion in a highly urbanized society, but that time seems far distant. Even education and religion are affected somewhat adversely by urbanization and complexity, but to nothing like the same extent as are the other two. They have no *automatic* checks. They are made up of different stuff, and are built on entirely different foundations.

What, then, is a reasonable course to pursue toward these four agents of social control? If two are definitely losing ground, the third just as definitely gaining, and the fourth, after a temporary setback, again progressing steadily, would it not seem logical to throw the greater weight of our support to those of greatest promise? Law is expensive and inefficient. In spite of the half-billion dollars we spend each year in making laws and attempting to enforce them our annual crime bill (according to the Institute of Economics) reaches the stupendous figure of \$5,000,000,000. A part of this huge outlay on law has been fairly effective. Many good and necessary laws have been passed, and in some cases well enforced. But have the 62,000 laws which Elihu Root says were passed by Congress and the state legislatures in a recent five-year period made us "good"? Have they, or the attempted enforcement of them, given us a wholesome respect for law, and a

cheerful, sincere desire to so shape our conduct that we will avoid breaking even the least of them? Have they made us enthusiastic believers in the efficacy of law as a method?

Clearly there are better ways for most folk than force or threat of force; there are better ways than public disapproval or threat of disapproval. The negative forces in life cannot compare with the positive; oftentimes they even depend on the positive forces for what strength they do have. When the inner controls are strong the socially approved outer controls are also most efficient. When men learn to control themselves group control is easy, and becomes merely social guidance. We are at last coming to perceive this simple truth. We are beginning to turn to the inner forces, as yet little understood, with

a new faith in what we shall find. And once we concentrate our thought and effort on these little developed resources, we need not long be novices in their use. We shall learn to be scientific in the truest sense of the word, in this field as well as in those already more fully occupied.

In summary, *there can be no social control without self control*, and the two agents at present most efficient in generating this socially precious force are education and religion. It should logically follow that when they are given our most thoughtful support society will go forward with a quicker step. If better controls are later discovered, a scientific attitude bent on social effectiveness will guarantee their adoption; until that time the same attitude will seek to use the best that are at hand.

## THE CONCEPT OF THE REGION

RUPERT B. VANCE

HERBERT SPENCER<sup>1</sup> in the only interview granted the newspapers on his one visit to America analyzed American culture from the viewpoint of a sociologist. "In the first place," he said in 1882, "the American people have come into possession of an unparalleled fortune—the mineral wealth and the vast tract of virgin land producing abundantly with small cost of culture. . . . Then they have profited by inheriting all the arts, appliances, and methods developed by older societies, while leaving behind the obstructions existing in them. . . . Once more, there is inventiveness which, stimulated by the need of economizing labor, has

been so wisely fostered. . . . The progressive incorporation of vast bodies of immigrants of various bloods has never occurred on such a scale before. . . . Then your immense plexus of railways and telegraphs tend to consolidate this vast aggregate of states in a way that no such aggregate has ever before been consolidated."

In a series of thoughtful phrases Spencer suggested the factors of geography, material culture, technology, biological stocks and communication that have served to give the United States the unity it possesses. In the adjustment of European culture to the American environment, the people themselves were more of a unity than the physical conditions they were to meet. The "customs, laws, languages,

<sup>1</sup> See *Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, III, 471-80.



institutions which they brought with them, as well as their inherited tendencies, beliefs and prejudices; their intelligence, skill, knowledge of business methods and industrial processes and inventions"<sup>2</sup> were rather uniformly those held by the English middle classes. They thus formed a kind of culture complex. In their new American environment the people met two distinct sets of stimuli; the Indian culture and the physical conditions. The Indians were both an obstacle to occupation and an aid to adjustment to the wilderness.<sup>3</sup> The adoption by the settlers of the Indians' forest folkways, as Turner convincingly shows us, created the frontier. The Indian, then, in a large sense made for the cultural unity of early America; and for a long time the frontier, North and South, was essentially the same.

#### PHYSICAL FACTORS OF THE REGION

In seeking to account for that diversity in our national culture which has made American history at once so interesting and so tragic, one is compelled to fall back on geographic factors. It will be wise, as H. H. Barrows<sup>4</sup> holds, to view such a problem "from the standpoint of man's adjustment to the environment rather than from that of environmental influence." Only in this way can one avoid "assigning to geographic factors a determinative influence they do not exert." In any study of the human geography of the region in America, the attempt should be made throughout to ascertain how European culture became, in seeking to conform to geographic conditions, American culture. Accordingly it will be use-

ful to divide the geographic complex into its elements and to indicate some ways in which societies react to these elements.

For any given area at least eleven elements may be found to make up the geographic background:<sup>5</sup> (1) Position; (2) area; (3) climate; (4) relief; (5) soil; (6) minerals; (7) waters of the land; (8) oceans; (9) coast and coast lines; (10) native vegetation; (11) native animal life. The importance of these elements may be accepted without question. Position exists in reference to other regions: it determines the accessibility or isolation of cultural groups. Area sets limits to the quantity of population that may be supported and thus aids in determining national strength. The relief, valley, plateau, mountain ranges, or plain, affects climate by means of altitude and influences communication. Like position it may make for exclusion. "The nucleus of population has its basis in the most accessible portions of a given physiographic area. From there it spreads along the lines of least resistance to the surrounding hinterland."<sup>6</sup> Climate, itself, is composed of many factors: temperature, humidity, precipitation, cloudiness, and prevailing winds. Together with soils and minerals, climate furnishes the basis of the greater part of what we call natural resources. To these must be added those native avenues of transportation, the ocean and the waters of the land. Fronting on the ocean, the contour of coast lines by affording or withholding harbour, determines the use that may be made of nature's waterways.

Growing out of the inorganic environment are the biological factors: native

<sup>2</sup> William A. Schafer, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, Reports American Historical Association, I, 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

<sup>4</sup> Geography as Human Ecology," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XIII, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Charles C. Colby, *Source Book for the Economic Geography of North America*, p. xiv.

<sup>6</sup> C. A. Dawson, "Population Areas and Physiographic Regions in Canada," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, p. 43.

vegetation and animal life. Surface features, chief mineral resources, major types of soil, mean annual temperature and the annual range of temperature, the length of the growing season, the mean annual rainfall and the seasonal distribution of rainfall furnish nature's conditions for vegetation.<sup>7</sup> Not only is the plant complex conditioned by these physical factors, but plants themselves exist in what may be called communities. As the ecologists have shown in every area exists a delicate equilibrium of plant contending with plant for a place in the sun and the soil. Animals subsist on plant life and on each other, so that we may think of man's organic *milieu* as an equilibrium of plants, animals, insects, bacteria and parasites, all in contact and all interacting through natural biological processes. In passing to the realm of the organic, man's *milieu* has become increasingly complex.

The extent to which the principle of interaction in a complex unity ranges through the organic world is indicated in the geography of disease. Many human diseases are transmitted by microbes or bacteria which spend part of their period of growth incubating in an animal host. The range of this host is determined by climate and the disease may accordingly become known as peculiar to, let us say, the torrid climate, although it would be perfectly possible for men to have the disease in other areas provided the carrier were present. The question of animal and vegetable life is thus so complicated that, as Marsh<sup>8</sup> suggests, "we can never know how wide a circle of disturbance we produce in the harmonies of nature when we throw the smallest pebble into the ocean of organic being." The change of any

factor in a region as variation in rainfall or the introduction of a new plant or insect is sufficient to establish a new equilibrium. In so far as animals prey upon vegetation and upon each other they may be regarded as the superstructure of this complex, but when man arrives on the scene he becomes the new superstructure.

Man's so-called conquest of nature accordingly has consisted in disturbing nature's equilibrium of flora and fauna. From native plants growing in a region man has developed the few at the expense of the many, outlawing them as weeds and attempting their extermination. He has artificially bred plants to points where nature could never have taken them and then he has introduced exotic vegetation. Cotton, corn, wheat, rye, oats and fruits are pampered monstrosities created and kept alive by man. This alien complex he has maintained by force of plow, hoe, and fertilization against the encroaching wilderness and the weeds, which themselves have become domesticated outlaws. To the fauna offered by nature he has been no less arbitrary. Wild animals of the forest and field he has driven before him and exterminated. For the bison of the western plains he has substituted the cattle of Texas ranches. At so fast a pace has this new complex been substituted for an old one that in so new a country as America the ecologists find it impossible to map the natural biotic zones. In no place, however, has man dominated the organic complex completely. One of the penalties of the artificial equilibrium is the introduction of fungi, parasites, and insect pests, before unknown, to prey upon man's pampered monstrosities.

The foregoing discussion has served to suggest that the legitimate approach to human geography lies not in a detached study of the social significance of geographic elements but in an analysis of

<sup>7</sup> R. H. Whitbeck, "Fact and Fiction in Geography by Natural Regions," *Journal of Geography*, 22, pp. 86-94.

<sup>8</sup> Cited R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, p. 231.

interconnected wholes. In our modern workaday world the staple, artificially propagated and guarded from its rivals who would crowd it from the common table of light and soil, offers the key to the region. This complex unity of flora and fauna thus counts more in world economy than native vegetation and animal life. These facts lead to a view of the region and it is noteworthy that regionalism has been the revivifying influence in modern geographic studies.

L. G. W. Joerg<sup>9</sup> has rightly termed the "recognition of regional geography as the ultimate goal and highest expression of geographic research." Carl O. Sauer<sup>10</sup> has expressed the opinion that regional geography offers the most urgent field of inquiry. Such a study is not ready to announce generalizations but must describe, interpret and analyze regions. The region must be accepted as an environmental type in which what we have called the geographic elements are combined in certain definite and constant relations. Even here we can distinguish between what may be roughly called the physical region and the region of the organic complex. The physiographic region is basically geological, in W. M. Davis' formula it is the product of structure, process, and stage; the organic is based in the uses to which plants and animals have put the stage of soil and climate furnished by nature.

If each of the main geographic elements be used as criterion for plotting a region, it will be found that the regions so delimited vary greatly in size. Of these the climatic region is the largest unit; the soil region the smallest; and the physiographic region occupies a position midway.

Such a physiographic unit has been

defined by Neven N. Fenneman<sup>11</sup> as "an area which is characterized throughout by similar or closely related surface features, and which is contrasted in these respects with neighboring areas." Such an area would also possess a uniform physiographic history. Although the evidence for such regions is more distinct and the barriers between are more sharply defined than in other types of regions, the factors are infinitely complex. Physiographic, thermal, rainfall, soil and mineral regions do not always coincide.<sup>12</sup> Basing their work on the immense number of studies completed by the United States Geological Survey, it took the committee of experts, headed by Fenneman four months to produce a map of the physiographic regions of the United States. Even here many of the boundaries must be left indeterminate for regions merge into each other without perceptible change.

The physiographic area leads to the next stage, the natural life area. The result of geological processes, embodied in the soil, plus climate and weather considered as habitat, furnish an ecological community. This biotic region may be defined as a climatic and physiographic province characterized by an assemblage of species and by ecological characteristics differing from those found in adjacent areas.<sup>13</sup> The most complete survey of the natural vegetation areas yet made of the United States proceeds on this assumption. "The forms of vegetation here described are not merely aggregations of species but are biological communities characterized by certain similarity in their biological

<sup>11</sup> "Physiographic Boundaries within the United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, IV, 86.

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Whitbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>13</sup> L. R. Dice, "Biotic Areas and Ecological Habitats as Units for the Statement of Animal and Plant Distribution," *Science*, 55, pp. 335-8.

<sup>9</sup> *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, IV, 36.

<sup>10</sup> *The Geography of the Ozark Highlands*, p. vii.



aspect, in their environment, in their past history, and in their ultimate development. The biological is thus made the basis of classification and the environment is measured in terms of vegetation and not the vegetation in terms of temperature, moisture, evaporation, or any other factor.<sup>14</sup>

In any settled region the natural distribution of plants and animals has long since been disturbed and any attempt to reconstruct these natural life areas is likely to meet with failure. The one field in which natural plant areas can still be mapped is forestry. *The Atlas of American Agriculture*<sup>15</sup> furnishes a brilliant example of this type of research in its reconstruction of the natural forests of the United States. The United States is thus found to comprise roughly an eastern hardwood and pine forest province, a mid-western grass area, and a region of desert shrubs.<sup>16</sup> The equilibrium of these societies of grasses, trees and desert shrubs has been disturbed by the uses to which man has put the region. Only ten per cent of the

eastern timber is in virgin condition and seventy per cent of the grassland east of the 100th meridian has been planted to crops.

The interrelation of the organic and inorganic may be suggested by noting the effect of temperature and rainfall on the distribution of plants by areas. Distribution of plants and animals over the earth's surface according to Dr. C. Hart Merriam<sup>17</sup> is governed not so much by an average of annual temperature as by the temperature during the period of growth and reproductive activity of the plant. The various events in the life of the plant as leafing, flowering, and maturing of fruit take place when the plant has been exposed to a definite quantity of solar heat for a brief period. Plants, then, are restricted in their northward distribution by the total of heat received during their period of growth. In their southward distribution they are restricted by the mean temperature of a brief period covering the hottest part of the year. On the basis of thermal means worked out along this line Dr. Merriam has mapped three life zones for the United States: Boreal, austral, and tropical.

"The position and density of forests," for example, "are due to the peculiar distribution of rainfall in this country. The central portion of the continent far from the moist ocean winds, find inefficient moisture to support a dense forest."<sup>18</sup> Roughly the United States may be divided into two rainfall areas: a moist east and an arid west which possesses a moist Pacific fringe. In mapping such areas the average annual rainfall should not be considered more important than the question of

<sup>14</sup> *Atlas of American Agriculture*, Pt. I, Sec. E, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Map, pp. 3-4.

<sup>16</sup> The nine forest regions of the eastern United States beginning at the South are as follows: (1) Subtropical Forest: Mangrove; (2) Southeastern Pine Forest: Longleaf, Loblolly, and Slash Pines. (3) River Bottom Forests: Cypress, Tupelo, and Red Gum; (4) Southern Hardwood Forests: Chestnut, Chestnut Oak, and Yellow Poplar; (5) Southern Hardwood Forest: Oak and Hickory; (6) Southern Hardwood Forest: Oak and Pine; (7) Northwestern Hardwood: Birch, Beech, Maple, and Hemlock; (8) Northeastern Pine Forest: Jack, Red, and White Pines; (9) Northern Coniferous Forest: Spruce, Fir. Three desert shrub plant areas are given: (1) Southern Desert: Creosote Bush; (2) Salt Desert: Greasewood; (3) Northern Desert: Sagebrush. The grass regions comprise about seven divisions: (1) Prairie: Tall Grass; (2) Plains: Short Grass; (3) Desert Grassland: Mesquite; (4) Desert Savanna: Mesquite and Desert Grass; (5) Pacific Grassland: Bunch Grass; (6) Alpine Grassland: Alpine Meadow; (7) Marsh: Marsh Grass.

<sup>17</sup> "Laws of Temperature Control of the Geographic Distribution of Terrestrial Animals and Plants," *National Geographic Magazine*, VI, 229-238.

<sup>18</sup> "Natural Vegetation," *Atlas of American Agriculture*, p. 3.

the distribution of precipitation throughout the year. Rain may fall at such a season as to be a detriment rather than a benefit to plant life. The United States has been divided into five general areas of precipitation depending on the type and source of rainfall:<sup>19</sup>

1. Pacific area with its source the Pacific Ocean has a long period of precipitation during midwinter and an almost total absence during late summer.
2. Mexico, an area of light rainfall, originating in the Gulf of California, has its heavier period during July, August and September with its lowest in February, March, and April.
3. Tennessee, Gulf states, the rainfall coming from the Gulf of Mexico, is heaviest during the last of winter and the first of spring with light precipitation in mid autumn.
4. Missouri, Northern Mississippi Valley, find the source of precipitation in the Gulf of Mexico, the Great Lakes and Hudson Bay; highest precipitation is in winter with major quantity of rain in late spring and early summer.
5. Atlantic area is one of fairly heavy rainfall coming from the Atlantic Ocean with distribution fairly uniform throughout the whole year.<sup>20</sup>

"The notion of natural region," as Paul Vidal de la Blache<sup>21</sup> writes, "is simply the expression of a fact brought more and more into evidence by the observations which have been carried on for a century: meteorological observations showing that the averages for temperature and rain hardly vary in a given region; botanical observations showing in the same climate the reproduction of the same types of plants; geological observations proving that if there is great variety in the construction of the soil, all is not disorder,

and that the very way in which the sediments have been deposited and the way in which the movements of the earth's crust have taken place implies a certain regularity of behavior."

#### CULTURAL FACTORS OF THE REGION

The value to social science of these physical regions lies in the human uses to which they are devoted. "Man living on earth lives in relation to a corn belt, a wheat region, a trade or manufacturing region; to semi-arid pasture, or to some other natural region. Hence classification of region by human use is scientific method for the study of geography."<sup>22</sup> What counts is obviously not the native societies of plants and animals existing atop the physical complex of soil and climate but the artificial equilibrium of flora and fauna introduced and maintained by man. The *raison d'être* is economic; these plants and animals are ones which may be consumed or given in exchange, but they also condition man's social and institutional interests. Le Pays' famous formula is also regional: place conditions work, work conditions the family organization, and the family is the social unit which makes up society.<sup>23</sup> This formula of place-work-folk has received its most brilliant American demonstration in Turner's account of the evolution of frontier society in accordance with the conditions of the wilderness. According to this conception, physical and climatic *milieux* remaining constant, the regions change as the state of agriculture and industry advances. Thus a frontier belt may become a hunting area, an Indian trading region, a ranching area, then a region of grain farming, and finally a dairying area.

In the uses that man, in the effort to

<sup>19</sup> General A. W. Greeley, "Definition of Rainfall Types," *National Geographic Magazine*, V, 45-58.

<sup>20</sup> See also *American Atlas of Agriculture*, Pt. II, Sec. A, "Precipitation and Humidity," by J. B. Kincer, Map, pp. 6-7.

<sup>21</sup> Cited R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, p. 237.

<sup>22</sup> J. Russell Smith, *Human Geography*, II, v.

<sup>23</sup> See Pitrim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 66-73.

clothe, feed, house, and defend himself, makes of the map furnished by nature, Jean Brunhes<sup>24</sup> finds the scope of human geography. These activities become permanently recorded on the soil and comprise the cultural landscape. He finds six essential series of social phenomena correlated with geographic factors: (1) Human habitations: inhabited areas, character of houses, roads; (2) plant conquest: cultivated fields; (3) animal conquest: domestication and breeding of animals; (4) exploitation of minerals; (5) devastation in plant life; (6) devastation in animal life.

To Brunhes many of the most important phases of society lie beyond the reach of geography to touch or influence. The forms of the family, political organization, social organization, the character of religion, of laws and literature exhibit little or no relation to geographic phenomena. In the phrase of C. Vallaux which he has quoted with approval: "The influence of geographic factors is negative, but not positive; they often may hinder a phenomena, but they do not determine what it will be."<sup>25</sup> Man has not evolved in a vacuum and it is obvious to point out in reply to Vallaux that when nature prevents she also determines. "Human geography," says Georges Gariel, and he is right, "is destined to review all the sociological theories that speculate about some sort of abstract man."

It is with the human uses of the region in mind that Dr. O. E. Baker has mapped the agricultural areas of the United States.<sup>26</sup> Five plants, corn, wheat, cotton, oats, and hay occupy more than 87 per cent of the total crop area of the county.<sup>27</sup> In combination with live stock

they make up the various types of farming. Dependent upon moisture conditions, length of the growing season, contour of the land, and physical, chemical, and bacterial conditions of the soil they furnish the agricultural regions of the United States.<sup>28</sup> In regard to climate the United States may be divided roughly into four areas: a cold northern, a warm southern, a moist eastern, and a dry western region.<sup>29</sup> The soils fall into three divisions: the East and South, largely light colored forest lands, the central plains, dark soiled grasslands, and the arid West.<sup>30</sup> Using as his index the proportion of domesticated plants and animals used in each crop system, Dr. Baker lists the following agricultural regions of the eastern United States:<sup>31</sup> (1) Subtropical Crops Belt; (2) Cotton Belt; (3) Middle Atlantic Trucking Region; (4) Corn and Winter Wheat Belt; (5) Corn Belt; (6) Hog and Dairying Belt; (7) Spring Wheat Area. The western United States he divides according to crops produced into the following areas: (8) Grazing and Irrigated Crop Region; (9) Columbia Plateau Region; (10) Pacific Subtropic Crops Region; (11) North Pacific Hay, Pasture and Forest Region. We have proceeded thus by inevitable stages from the region as laid down by geology to the region as transformed by the hand of man. Such human use areas are physiographic; they are also economic. Economic factors, such as values per unit of weight and distances to markets, may determine the extent and distribution of plant production.<sup>32</sup> The building of a railroad may thus reconstruct the uses to which man puts a region.

<sup>28</sup> Oliver E. Baker, "Agricultural Regions of North America," *Economic Geography*, Oct. 1926, p. 460.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>31</sup> *Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1921, Fig. 2, p. 416.

<sup>32</sup> W. J. Spillman, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Human Geography*, pp. 36-41, 48-52.

<sup>25</sup> C. Vallaux, *Le sol et l'état*, p. 106.

<sup>26</sup> *Department of Agriculture Yearbook*, 1921, Fig. 2, p. 416.

<sup>27</sup> W. J. Spillman, "Distribution of Types of Farming in the United States," *Farmer's Bulletin* 1289, p. 3.



The study of the cultural landscape shows man remaking the regional map and plots the distribution of his artifacts in space. No less challenging is the study of the comparative cultural routines of social groups as conditioned by different agricultural regions. Here the seasonal demands of economic plants and animals set limits to the seasonal round of days and works and plot the distribution of man's activities in time. At no place can Le Pay's formula of place, work, and folk be better tested than by one who should set himself to keep comparative seasonal graphs of the cultural activities of the family of a wheat farmer, a cotton grower, a truck gardener, a dairyman and a tobacco farmer as they follow their plants and animals around nature's cycle of the season. That social factors beyond the obvious ones of seasonal diet and dress, family work in the fields and recreation shape themselves in such a cycle is indicated by H. C. Brearley's<sup>33</sup> findings that high homicide rates in South Carolina fell within the periods of slack work in cotton farming, August and December. Thus occurs "the development of the cultural out of the natural landscape" and the region becomes the culture area characterized not only by common physical traits but by common culture traits. The region beginning as man's stage becomes in R. Mukerjee's phrase "his handiwork and his heritage." "The region thus conceived, registers the gain of trial and error for ages, and gives man handy tools and weapons, folkways or customs which make life easier and smoother for him."<sup>34</sup>

Again the United States can offer examples, roughly drawn, of culture areas based on regional facts. The New England states superimposed on a fishing-small

grain culture, developed with labor of an independent, individualistic type an urban-industrial culture manned by an immigrant proletariat. The South from a tobacco-indigo-rice culture made the transition first to a cotton-slave culture, then to a cotton-tenant culture and is now apparently in the first steps of industrial culture. The Mid-West made the transition from the cattle culture of the plains to grain culture ending in the development of the Corn and Wheat Belts. The Pacific has also made a transition from timber to grain-fruit culture. Such a view has recently appealed to an observant and philosophic foreign observer. "America is at bottom a new land of budding localisms, very much as Europe was at the end of the migrations of the peoples," thinks Herman Keyserling.<sup>35</sup> To him "America seems to be subdivided into large provinces of a comparatively unified character, provinces out of which there would undoubtedly have grown in earlier days and under different conditions separated cultures."<sup>36</sup> This is fortunate for "localism alone can produce in America a thoroughly authentic type of man and this type alone can be the germ cell of an authentic American nation."<sup>37</sup> Keyserling cites examples of localisms producing authentic cultures. "It seems a providential thing that Minnesota has been colorized to such a large extent by Swedes for the landscape is essentially Swedish." The atmosphere of Minneapolis he finds "Swedish at bottom and yet fundamentally American." "The only really cultural atmosphere one finds today in America is that of Virginia." "I should not greatly wonder," he adds, "if, after a few centuries Texas did not develop a very delightful original culture."

<sup>33</sup> "Genius Loci," *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1929, p. 311.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>32</sup> See "Homicides in South Carolina: A Regional Study," in this issue of *Social Forces*, p. 218.

<sup>34</sup> R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, p. 232.

Variations in the cultural landscape, different customs for different regions, the cultural routine of man's days and works, all these offer materials for literary art. An adequate regionalism in literature has proved heir to the local color of the 1890's. The corn and wheat belts at the hands of Hamlin Garland, Willa Cather, Martha Ostenso and O. E. Rölvaag have been presented in regional portraiture. Writers like Edgar Lee Master, Zona Gale, and Sinclair Lewis have arisen to portray caustically the life of the trading center and the metropolis grown out of the hinterland of wheat.

The American South at last has promised a literature which shall be regional but not provincial. That the new regionalism evident in the works of Ellen Glasgow, Du Bose Heyward, Julia Peterkin, E. C. L. Adams, Howard W. Odum, T. S. Stripling and Rose Wilder Lane is not entirely dependent upon a newer objective attitude toward the Negro can be shown by an appeal to *Barren Ground*, *Teeftallow*, and what is possibly the masterpiece of regional portraiture, Elizabeth Maddox Roberts' *The Time of Man*. Out of the promise of Dorothy Scarborough's *The Land of Cotton* and Jack Bethea's *Cotton*, the national literature may expect in some near future to be enriched by an epic of cotton comparable to the trilogy planned for wheat by Frank Norris. The realistic literature of folk close to the soil is now ripe for sociological analysis in terms of regional culture traits, social attitudes, and social values.

When it comes to the geography of politics more than one thinker has followed the lead of N. S. B. Gras in seeing a rise of regionalism at the expense of nationalism. Not that the old political forms will disappear; they will simply be forced to accommodate themselves to the rising demands of regions. That this factor has

been well recognized can be shown in many instances. The commonwealth of Tennessee, the doubtful state of the democratic South, will serve. The state is divided roughly into a highland east, a central plateau and a western flood plain.

East Tennessee is Republican in politics and is interested in diversified agriculture, mining, and manufacturing, while middle and west Tennessee are Democratic politically, and interested primarily in agriculture. The two latter divisions with their common politics and similar, though by no means identical, interests, usually dominate in political matters. In early days there was a land office and a treasurer for each of these three divisions. The Supreme Court still sits in rotation in east, middle, and West Tennessee. There is a state normal school for each of the three divisions and a state asylum for each division. In the constitution of political boards and committees it is usually specified that equal representation be given to each of these three divisions, so that in many ways the state comprises three separate communities more or less distinct and different from each other, and yet united under one system of government.<sup>38</sup>

The foundation of regionalism offered by the factors of physiography and natural resources are being tremendously strengthened by modern business. It may be safely said that economic exploitation of nature's treasures is at last to force regional policies upon the heedless state. Scattered towns with their small hinterlands have coalesced into large areas each finding its nucleus in a great metropolis. "Metropolitan regionalism," writes N. S. B. Gras<sup>39</sup> who has best investigated this field, "is the most likely to challenge the state in a way to be heard from because it represents rich, well-organized and somewhat self-sufficing communities." America has ten or twelve great metropolitan regions either developed or developing.

<sup>38</sup> L. C. Glenn, "Physiographic Influences in the Development of Tennessee," cited by C. C. Colby, *Economic Geography of North America*, p. 256.

<sup>39</sup> "Regionalism and Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, VII, 459.

In the East, Boston, New York and Philadelphia; in the West, Chicago, St. Louis, Twin Cities, and Kansas City; on the Pacific, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. In the South, it is Gras' opinion that New Orleans has lost, Cincinnati and Baltimore on the border have had indifferent success, and that, due to rapid industrial development, Atlanta is likely to become the center of the first metropolitan region in the South.<sup>40</sup>

The Federal Reserve Areas in the United States are traces made on the financial map by metropolitan regionalism. In the allocation of the water from Boulder Dam we find another regional complex that transcends state lines. The division of the United States in corps areas may be taken as delimiting provinces suitable for military defense. There are two great economic complexes that may be expected to force regionalism on the attention of the state. The first of these is the railroads, and the task is one of consolidation, elimination, and unification of systems until each natural crop and natural resource province shall be efficiently interconnected with metropolitan centers. The second is the pressing problem of electric power. Hydro-electric development based on the natural distribution of flowing rivers and water power demands coordination of large areas. In the expressive phrase of Robert W. Buere, *Giant Power is a Region Builder*. On the basis of city planning and regional surveys of the hinterlands Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford have erected plans for the development of natural areas that are nothing short of social reconstruction.

The concept of region is giving a new direction to research. Practically every state has a geological survey which issues reports couched in the terms of the hard-

rock geologists. These reports of interest mainly to mineralogists, make little use of the regional concept and furnish no data of use to either business men or social scientists. Kentucky, a state of great physical contrasts, clearly divided into natural regions, has under the direction of Dr. W. R. Jillson published the first completed series of regional geographic studies made for any state in our country. In the place of offering compendiums of facts the study attempts to express the individuality of the region as the site of a particular group with a particular culture. Chapters are found on rural culture patterns and the cultural landscape of towns. These studies while often partaking more of the physical than of the human and cultural factors have been said to rank with some of the best work done in Europe.<sup>41</sup>

Michigan has under way a Land-Economic Survey in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Soils, the Lake-States Forest Experiment Station and the Michigan Department of Agriculture. "The outstanding difference between this undertaking and any other that approximates it," writes P. S. Lovejoy, "is in the effort to determine all the factors that will make for the intelligent use of land, to consider all the variables and to carry on the work with no prejudice for or against the possibly competing utilizations. Topography, types of growth, soils and uses of land are covered in field surveys. Intent in land ownership, assessed valuations, areas of tax delinquency, trade

<sup>41</sup> Kentucky is divided into six clearly defined natural areas on which the following regional monographs have been issued: D. H. Davis, *The Jackson Purchase*, 1923; D. H. Davis, *The Mountains*, 1924; W. G. Burrough, *The Coal Fields*, 1927; *The Knobs*, 1926; D. H. Davis, *The Blue Grass*, 1927; C. O. Sauer, *The Pennyroyal*, 1927. These monographs are called reconnaissance studies of the distribution and activities of men in particular regions.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461.



areas, and production areas are all to be mapped and so intensive is the survey that no variations of more than ten acres can escape record."<sup>42</sup> While primarily an economic survey for land utilization the analysis and interpretation by natural areas will have wide bearing on the human ecology of the state.

The survey of Saint Helena Island, South Carolina, soon to be published, will show the suitability of a small natural area, homogenous in its physical and ethnic features, to interpretation as a cultural unit. The Department of Commerce has divided the United States in nine commercial regions for the purpose of study and in 1927 published its first survey, that of the Southeast. F. Stuart Chapin outlined before the American Sociological Society at its 1927 meeting plans of the University of Minnesota for a regional survey of the spring wheat belt which is to extend over two decades. The Insti-

<sup>42</sup> Harold Titus, "Michigan Takes Stock," *The New Republic*, August 28, 1929, pp. 39-41.

tute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina seeks to give to all its southern studies a definite regional slant based on background studies of rural areas. The Social Science Research Council has indorsed regional research as one of the major methods of promotion for the development of methods, personnel, new agencies of research, the securing of financial resources, the discovery of new research projects and the collection of storehouses of regional information. One of the purposes of the Council is to bring together for conference regional groups to consider the problems of their areas. Two such areas have been designated; the Pacific Coast, composed of a small number of units, and the South, consisting of a large number of units. With coöperative effort between the students of physical backgrounds and the students of culture the new direction given research may in time be expected to produce results equal to the best work of the French School.

## HOMICIDE IN SOUTH CAROLINA: A REGIONAL STUDY

H. C. BREARLEY

STATISTICAL investigations of the nature or extent of crime are often inconclusive because of the inaccuracy of police, court, and prison records. Besides, the prevalent use of such geographical units as states and nations may obscure significant differences that would appear in an inquiry of greater specificity. This study of homicide in South Carolina, a relatively homogeneous state, attempts to avoid these difficulties, since regional investigations "offer excellent opportunities for such analysis as will distinguish between causal factors and merely compo-

nent relationships,"<sup>1</sup> and since the records of the state and federal bureaus of vital statistics give comparatively reliable data concerning homicide, the killing of one person by another except by accident or legal execution.

Approximately 155,000 death certificates in the files of the South Carolina Bureau of Vital Statistics were examined, the probable homicide cases secured and investigated further by letters to physicians and county authorities, and the annual

<sup>1</sup> Odum and Jocher, *An Introduction to Social Research*, p. 413.

rates per 100,000 population calculated for each of the counties of the state, this part of the study being limited to the seven year period 1920-1926. In addition, the rates for cities of 10,000 or more population were obtained for the years 1920 and 1925 from data supplied by the United States Division of Vital Statistics. For the state as a whole the mean annual homicide rate for the period is 13.44 per 100,000 population, but within the state the rates range from 2.02 in Pickens County to 82.8 in the city of Florence. This suggests the extent to which statewide data may conceal local variations. In fact, the six urban communities and less than a dozen counties in the southwestern section are chiefly responsible for South Carolina's unenviable homicide record.

A partial investigation in four counties of the state reveals that the official homicide reports do not include some cases known to county authorities and others. Perhaps a number of these were reported upon the death certificates as accidents.<sup>2</sup> The inquiry, even though incomplete, shows that the homicide rate for one county should be increased 9.4 per cent, for another 16.7 per cent, and for the other two 50 per cent each. This suggests the possibility that official homicide reports understate the extent of murder and manslaughter in South Carolina, and perhaps in the United States. This is an important topic for further research.

#### HOMICIDE AND THE SEASONS

Investigations by Guerry, Lombroso, Ferri, Aschaffenburg, Leffingwell, Dexter, and others have led criminologists to believe that crimes against the person are always more numerous in summer than in winter. An analysis of the seasonal distribution of 1601 cases of homicide does

not support the validity of this belief when applied to the state of South Carolina. The following table gives the lowest and highest months for the years 1920-1926, the range by months, the totals for each month for the seven years, and the monthly totals corrected mathematically as though each had 31 days.

	LOWEST	HIGHEST	RANGE	UNCORRECTED TOTALS	TOTALS CORRECTED FOR 31 DAYS
January.....	13	24	11	133	133.0
February.....	9	21	12	100	109.5
March.....	10	26	16	128	128.0
April.....	13	24	11	127	131.2
May.....	8	23	15	112	112.0
June.....	12	28	16	132	136.4
July.....	12	33	21	153	153.0
August.....	12	26	14	145	145.0
September.....	10	33	23	131	135.4
October.....	10	24	14	119	119.0
November.....	13	30	17	150	155.0
December.....	15	32	17	171	171.0
Mean.....				133.4	135.7

An examination of this table discloses little evidence to sustain the accepted theory of the seasonal variation of crimes against the person, since December is the highest month and July is next. In order to measure more accurately, if possible, the effect of temperature upon homicide a coefficient of correlation was calculated between the number of such deaths for each month of the years 1921 through 1926 and the mean monthly temperatures for the same period.<sup>3</sup> This coefficient was only  $+.128$  with a probable error of  $\pm .078$ . The coefficient between homicide and the monthly variations from the mean annual temperature was  $+.135$  with a probable error of  $\pm .072$ . The evidence indicates quite clearly that there is no close posi-

<sup>2</sup> Hoffman, F. L., *The Homicide Problem*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> All coefficients of correlation used in this article have been calculated by the product-moment formula.

tive relationship between temperature and homicide in South Carolina.<sup>4</sup>

In analyzing the homicide rate for December it was discovered that the week from December 23 through December 29 had more than twice as many killings as did the average week of the year, while the rate for Christmas Day was 5.25 times greater than that for the average day in the year. These figures reflect the southern custom of celebrating the Christmas holiday season in somewhat the same manner as other sections of the United States observe the Fourth of July. Similar conditions, perhaps, led Ferri to propose a decrease in the number of holidays in order to reduce crime.<sup>5</sup>

#### HOMICIDE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

During the years 1920-1926 the United States Division of Vital Statistics reported 1646 homicides in South Carolina. For the same period 1902 cases of murder or manslaughter were docketed in the courts of general sessions, the courts in which felonies are tried. This excess of trials over homicides may be due to a failure to report all homicides or to numerous second or joint trials. Of the 1902 cases brought before the grand or the petit jury 51.5 per cent resulted in convictions. This compares quite favorably with the 34.23 per cent convictions in murder cases and 5.5 per cent verdicts of guilty in manslaughter cases in Cook County, Illinois.<sup>6</sup> But South Carolina's record for convictions in non-homicide cases presents an interesting contrast. Of 18,097 trials for offenses other than homicide 77.3 per cent resulted

in convictions. This means that persons arraigned for causes not involving a slaying have approximately 50 per cent more chance of receiving punishment by the courts than are those who are charged with murder or manslaughter.

A distinct racial difference was found in the percentage of convictions. Of the 1161 Negroes tried for the various forms of homicide 744 or 64.1 per cent were found guilty, while of the 741 whites arraigned only 234 or 31.7 per cent were convicted. A Negro slayer is apparently twice as liable to punishment as is a white man.

During a three year period one of the South Carolina daily newspapers carried accounts of the slaying of 10 white men and 25 Negro men by the state's law enforcement officers. On the other hand, for the same three years 8 officers of the law were slain by white men, 5 by Negro men, and 1 by unknown persons. If the number of police, deputies, and sheriffs had not increased since the census of occupations in 1920, these deaths represent an annual homicide rate of over 600 per 100,000 officers of the law, possibly the highest homicide rate on record. This extraordinary risk of being slain in the performance of duty reduces, doubtless, both the zeal of the officers and the quality of the men who can be employed to fill these positions.

#### HOMICIDE AND OTHER SOCIAL PHENOMENA

One of the chief purposes of this study was to attempt to measure the relationship between homicide and other sociological traits by calculating the coefficients of correlation between the homicide rates of each of the 46 counties and the corresponding data for such measurable social phenomena as illiteracy, density of population, and percentage of convictions in trials for murder and manslaughter. Some of these analyses gave results that were

<sup>4</sup> An analysis of the seasonal distribution of over 41,000 homicides in the United States registration area during the years 1923-1927 gives further evidence of marked regional variations. This investigation will be reported in the author's yet unpublished *Studies in Homicide*.

<sup>5</sup> *Criminal Sociology*, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Calculated from pages 627 and 633 of the *Illinois Crime Survey*.



quite contrary to general expectation. For example, the coefficient of correlation between homicide and the percentage of the county's population that is Negro was only  $+ .257$  with a probable error of  $\pm .093$ . This is usually to be interpreted as indicating that the two traits have little or no relationship. By means of a partial correlation it was discovered that when population per square mile was held constant the coefficient between homicide and the percentage of Negro population was increased to  $+ .374$ . Besides, of the 14 counties having two-thirds of more of its population Negro upon January 1, 1920, only 5 were in the worst quarter of the counties with regard to homicide, 4 were in the second quarter, 1 was in the third quarter, and 4 were in the best quarter. These facts indicate that the presence of the Negro does increase South Carolina's homicide rate but not so greatly as is generally believed, even though the death rate of Negroes from homicide is approximately twice as great as the death rate of whites from this cause, for this excess may be due in part, at least, to slayings of Negroes by whites.

Including 321 newspaper clippings, 401 accounts of homicides were secured for analysis. Of these there were 89 interracial slayings, 57 Negroes being killed by whites and 32 whites by Negroes. Of the 57 Negroes slain by whites 30 were killed by officers of the law. But since the news value of the slaying of a white by a Negro is greater than that of the killing of a Negro by a white and since only about half the total homicides were reported by the paper from which the clippings were taken, it is quite probable that, even if slayings by officers of the law be eliminated, more than one half of the interracial homicides are committed by the whites.

Some of the results of the calculation of these coefficients of correlation are given

below. The belief that illiteracy and anti-social conduct are closely associated is given little support by the coefficient of correlation between homicide and illiteracy, for this is only  $+ .113$  with a probable error of  $\pm .098$ . Homicide and farm tenancy had a correlation of  $- .15$  and a probable error of  $\pm .097$ . Even though the homicide rate for the cities is approximately twice what it is for the rural communities, the correlation between it and density of population (persons per square mile) is only  $+ .195$  and the probable error is  $\pm .096$ . Certain observers have reported that cotton mill communities have many murders. In order to test this conclusion a coefficient of correlation was calculated for homicide and the value of manufactured goods per capita in each county. This coefficient was  $- .168$  and the probable error was  $\pm .097$ , giving no evidence of a positive relationship. If the punishment of crime has any marked deterrent effect, there should be a high negative correlation between the rate of homicide and the percentage of convictions in the trials for murder and manslaughter. This coefficient, however, was only  $- .16$  with a probable error of  $\pm .097$ . If this result is typical, it seems that the fear of punishment is a negligible influence, unless the whole state is so lax that county differences are not significant.

These coefficients of correlation are based upon a very small number of cases (only 46 counties) but they suggest some important tentative conclusions that should be given further investigation by the use of other regional data from the United States and elsewhere. Perhaps the extension of the methods of this study of homicide in South Carolina may result in the accumulation of a body of significant facts that will prove to be an antidote for the emotionality and conjecture that now fill the literature dealing with homicide and other forms of antisocial behavior.

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE CONCEPT OF COMPLEXITY IN SOCIOLOGY: I

READ BAIN

#### AN INFERIORITY COMPENSATION OF SOCIOLOGISTS

WHEN sociologists are criticized for their failure to deal with social phenomena scientifically, one of their commonest excuses is that their data are the most complex and intangible of all natural phenomena. They bemoan their inability to devise instruments of precision comparable to those that have made possible the astonishing achievements in astronomy, physics, and chemistry. They complain that controlled experiments are almost impossible in sociological research. They assert that sociology "depends" upon other sciences such as biology and psychology and, since they have not yet solved the problems that are basic to sociological understanding, sociology is helpless. All of these statements and legions like them are really corollaries of the concept of complexity.

Needless to say, some scientists in other fields heartily agree with the lamenting sociologist. Many are ready if not eager to go further and claim that human social phenomena are so complex and intangible that a science of sociology is impossible. These men mean by "science," the mechanical manipulation of instrumentally observed materials in laboratories under

experimentally controlled conditions. But such an inadequate conception of science is held only by routine technicians and men on the street. Scientists who are at all familiar with the logic, history, and methods of science agree that all phenomena that can be observed by the senses, classified, and generalized according to tested logical and mathematical canons may be treated scientifically. Obviously, social phenomena fulfill these requirements.

But the fact remains that sociologists and other social scientists are not so productive of unquestionable scientific results as the physical scientists are. In compensation for this, they often plead the "complexity" of their data. Pseudo-scientists and engineers aid and abet them. The common man, taking his cue from these self-appointed High Priests of Wisdom, is thoroughly convinced that social phenomena cannot be dealt with "scientifically," in spite of the fact that almost every social act he performs demonstrates the repetitive uniformity of associational phenomena. Instead of being "complex," most of these acts are so simple, obvious, automatic, and matter-of-course that he is no more conscious of them than he is of the air he breathes.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the concept of the complexity of social

data and to advance the thesis that they are no more complex than other types of natural phenomena.

Discussions of the complexity of social data seldom appear in formal treatises on sociology. The term is not found in Eubank's study of "The Concepts of Sociology."<sup>1</sup> But this does not prove that I have sentenced a straw man to execution. Rather, it is evidence that we have a ghost or malign spirit to deal with, a gesture of the not yet "Dead Hand." It is evidence of the "intangibility of social phenomena" only in the sense that we have not yet dealt with our data scientifically. The idea creeps into many sociological treatises as an unconscious evasion of the fact that much of their content is folklore, speculation, ethical preaching, literary composition, and commonsense observation, rather than scientific knowledge. It is by implication and insinuation that the concept of complexity exercises its obscurantist and soporific influence.

One of the most eminent American sociologists states the idea in these words: "Go through a forest and count the species of deciduous trees, or of pines. These are all highly heterogeneous fields, but their heterogeneity is as nothing by comparison with the variegation of the pluralistic fields that make up human society."<sup>2</sup> Most writers merely accept it as a fact and so propagate and perpetuate the idea of the almost incomprehensible complexity of social phenomena. The advantage of this is two-fold. If they fail to be scien-

tific, or to go beyond the "sociology" of commonsense, it is because of "complexity." If they do not fail, obviously they must be very superior men. But certainly this is a kind of charlatanry or fantasy-thinking in which no man of science should indulge. Most of them would doubtless deny that they do. It means that they are willing to make a pretense of scientific knowledge which they do not possess. The upshot of this is that the man on the street refuses to credit the findings that are valid because he does not regard sociology as a "real" science. In short, the myth of complexity deludes the sociologist and at the same time diminishes the influence of such scientific work as he succeeds in doing.

Several years ago, Henri Poincaré remarked, "Nearly every sociological thesis proposes a new method, which, however, its author is very careful not to apply, so that sociology is the science with the greatest number of methods and the least results."<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, this still remains true in general, although sociologists have produced more scientifically valid results in the fifteen years since Poincaré's death than were produced in the preceding seventy-five years.

There is only one method for the natural sciences, viz., observation, classification, generalization, with the proviso that subsequent competent observers, using the same methods, shall get the same results. Tested by these criteria, it is obvious that most sociological writing is not science. Much of it is still in the realm of poetry, philosophy, and prophecy. It is argued herein that the conception of social phenomena as being more complex and intangible than other natural phenomena is a major factor in producing this condition and is also the sociologist's flight from the reality of his scientific ineptitude.

<sup>1</sup> E. E. Eubank; "The Concepts of Sociology," *Social Forces*, March, 1927, pp. 386-400.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Giddings, *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, p. 85. Almost every text book and treatise contains similar explicit or implicit references. Even John Dewey makes a similar statement in *Experience and Nature*, p. 261, although it seems to me quite inconsistent with his general point of view, e.g., p. 319 ff., and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> *Science and Method*, Tr. F. Maitland, pp. 19-20.



The historical development of the idea of social complexity is due largely to the Comtean hierarchy of the sciences. Spencer's theory of evolution fitted into this pattern. Ward's views were not greatly different. The objections to this view are so patent that no discussion is warranted, but the factors which produced the doctrine are still operating to maintain it. The Comtean Hierarchy and Spencerian Evolution have thoroughly filtered into the popular and semi-scientific mind. This is a good example of the much discussed "Dead Hand." It is very obvious that any hierarchy of sciences is in the realm of values. It is not a scientific classification at all, but an expression of wishful thinking. Any scientist can give many "good reasons" why *his* science is the most important.

But we are concerned here with the Comte-Spencer view that social phenomena are more complex than other phenomena. It is true, of course, that the subject matter of the various sciences may be roughly arranged in a chronological order of cosmic appearance. There were probably inorganic compounds before there were organic compounds. But it is not at all true that the sciences dealing with these data developed in a chronological, methodological, sequential series; nor that the "later" ones are dependent upon the "earlier." This view derives from "The false idea . . . of nature as a mere aggregate of independent entities, each capable of isolation."<sup>4</sup> It is a hang-over of the materialistic monism of honored memory.

#### THE MEANING OF COMPLEXITY

When we address ourselves to the task of analyzing the concept of complexity as

applied to social phenomena, we are at once faced with the vagueness and confusion that surrounds it. Like so many terms in constant use by sociologists, it means all things to all men. It is one of those indefinite blanket-terms that serve to conceal our scientific inadequacy. It is this practice of hiding our ignorance in pretentious terms that gives validity to such remarks as that of Poincaré quoted above. It also gives rise to such definitions of sociology as "The science that deals with things everybody knows in terms nobody understands." It is also the reason we are so sensitive to the jocular and serious criticisms of sociology as a science. Our emotional behavior is evidence of the conflict and confusion in our own minds. We are victims of what might be called "an oppression neurosis." The concept of complexity is part of the psychological camouflage that conceals our misapprehensions of the nature of nature, of the nature of social phenomena, and of the method of science.

For the purpose of analysis, I have stated five propositions which seem to me implicit in the concept of the complexity of social phenomena. There are many other reasons that are often given. Some of these will be adverted to in the discussion of the five propositions. Some of the common fallacies regarding the nature of natural phenomena and scientific method which have a bearing on the confusion of thought implicit in the concept of complexity will also be discussed.

It is often argued that social phenomena are more complex than other natural phenomena because they are: (1) More numerous; (2) more unstable; (3) more disorderly; (4) more intangible; (5) more difficult to understand. As thus stated, all five propositions are denied, although, stated a little differently, there is some truth in the last one.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature*, Tarner Lectures, 1919, p. 141.

## ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA MORE NUMEROUS?

Obviously, there are no known phenomena aside from the responses of human beings. We may postulate "realities" which we cannot experience but what we do in that case is to experience the postulation, i.e., what we "know" is the verbal activity of ourselves or others. In so far as the postulation is known, is a phenomenon, it is a human response,—usually an implicit or explicit verbal response. It is clear that we classify certain types of phenomena and regard them as autonomous. As a matter of fact, this is merely a useful kind of abstraction. All objects, all phenomena, are abstractions. That is the only way in which we can know them. Whenever we convey meaning about an event, we must treat it as an object, i.e., as an abstraction. This is merely to say that we find other people who are able and willing to ignore all of the unique characteristics and possible relations of the objects under consideration except those upon which we mutually are centering our attention, i.e., responding to in a similar manner. An experience never becomes objective, or an object, until it takes on this repetitive similarity in the responses of a number of people. For them, the event is an "object." To others it may be an illusion. In other words, all meanings are abstractions. Experience to be meaningful must be abstract. Hence, every event in the sensible universe may be an indefinite number of objects. There are no identities or exact repetitions in nature, except in the realm of abstraction, and even here we are usually conscious of the incomplete nature of the assumed identity. Dewey, Sellars, and Whitehead, as I interpret them, substantially agree with this view.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature*, esp., pp. 126, 140-5, 163; R. W. Sellars; *Evolutionary*

Now all responses of men are not social phenomena. In the process of classifying phenomena as belonging to different categories, or "levels," there has come to be practical agreement that social phenomena are those types of behavior exhibited by human beings in their group relations. By common consent the disciplines which study these forms of behavior are called social sciences. Sociology is one of these. It differs from the specialized social sciences only in that it is interested in the more general aspects of group behavior: in the "forms and content of socialization," as Simmel said; in the "processes and products of group life," as American sociologists are inclined to say.

Suppose we consider the numerical aspects of social and non-social phenomena. Let us take the botanical field. Is it simpler or more complex than the social field? How many plants are there? How many species? How many varieties? How many individual differences between the units of any selected class of botanical objects could we enumerate? How many human responses to botanical objects are possible? Suppose we ask the same questions regarding social phenomena. Which field is the more complex? To ask is to answer. From the standpoint of the number of objects, number of units, number of possible human responses (relations), both fields are incommensurable and infinitely "complex." The term has no meaning if we are centering our attention on the number of data.

In both cases, and in any other similar case, the number of factors involved all depends upon the kind of classificatory scheme that may be adopted. If we take

*Naturalism*, p. 44, and passim; John Dewey; *Experience and Nature*, esp. p. 318-ff. Dewey's whole book is really an elaboration of the indeterminate nature of experience and nature. The idea is not new. It runs back in various forms from James to Heraclitus.

human beings as units, and divide them into male and female, it would probably be as simple a task to enumerate all the specimens on earth as it would be to take plants as units, divide them into flowering and non-flowering, and undertake to enumerate all the individuals in the two groups. But in both cases, a complete enumeration is practically impossible. It would be easier to enumerate all the cultural traits in the world than it would to enumerate all the lengths of all the leaves of all the apple trees. It is argued here that any possible logical manipulation of the objects, or data, in any "field of science" would give the same result. If the idea of "numbers of units," or "factors involved" is to be part of the concept of complexity, social phenomena would prove to be much less complex than chemical, physical, botanical, zoological, astronomical, or any other "field" or "level" of natural phenomena. But in all cases, the possible human responses are innumerable. It is true that most of the objects of the social sciences are too inclusive, i.e., too few in number, to give us significant types of uniformity, and so we are continually engaged in making our scientific social objects more numerous. If complex means more objects, social phenomena are rapidly becoming more complex. But instead of saying "we do not understand because social phenomena are so complex," we should say, "we are making social phenomena more complex (i.e., formulating new objects) so that we can understand them."

But it is also true that the data become meaningful only when we have found a classificatory device that adequately describes the relatively uniform similarities of the described objects. This gives us a new "scientific object" which is inclusive and may be treated as a unit for purposes of

generalization.<sup>6</sup> This "simplifies" the "complexity of numbers" by enabling us to treat all the previously defined objects as if they were exactly alike. In this sense we are continually increasing the number of scientific social objects, but we are also decreasing their "complexity" by increasing our comprehension.

To summarize, social phenomena are not more, but possibly less "complex" than other types of natural phenomena if by "complex" we mean more units, factors, relations, and possible human responses. But we are increasing the number of scientific social objects and units as rapidly as we reach valid generalizations of relatively stable repetitive uniformities in human social behavior. Likewise, it follows that this process of increasing "complexity" also increases scientific understanding of social data. It is also obvious that such an "increase of complexity" is not what is usually meant by "the increasing complexity of modern social life."

#### ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA MORE UNSTABLE?

The identification of complexity with instability is doubtless a vestige of Spencerian evolution. The absurdity is at once apparent when we examine it critically. It is based upon a failure to observe the first canon of science, viz., that the scientist must be impersonal and non-ethical. Empires do rise and fall; but so do coast lines. Scientifically, the first phenomenon is no more nor no less important than the second. For the scientist, the only significance of these events is the

<sup>6</sup> See L. L. Bernard, "Scientific Method and Social Progress," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1925, pp. 5-6, and passim. For the reduction of complexity by invention using what he calls "projective method," see Bernard, "Invention and Social Progress" same journal, July, 1923, pp. 17-25.



conditions under which empires and coast lines rise and fall and the conditions resulting therefrom. At present, "explanations" of both types of phenomena are more speculative than scientific. It is true, seismologists can tell us where coast lines are likely to be modified in the near future. But social scientists foretold the fall of the Russian Empire and are now foretelling the fall of the British Empire—if it has not already "fallen."

But this is beside the point. The fact is, all natural phenomena are unstable. Scientific facts are uniform, universal, stable. When they cease to be so, they are not scientific. Natural phenomena are all unique, local, unstable, whether they be human historical events or geological ones. As Dewey says, "(Reality is) a mixture of the precarious and problematic with the assured and complete."<sup>7</sup> The "assured and complete" are merely those natural phenomena which have been observed, classified and generalized into empirical principles and scientific "laws." Outside of this, all is "problematic and precarious." Wherever activity occurs, there is instability.

One reason we hear so much about the instability of social phenomena is that most people are still extremely anthropocentric regarding this type of natural phenomena. Their unit of measurement of time, for example, is sixty or eighty years—a human lifetime. They see their own youthful ideas replaced by "new-fangled" notions; the accustomed mechanical devices replaced by up-to-date ones. The conclusion is that social phenomena are impermanent and unstable. The mountains and rivers remain; the stars are fixed; the sun continues to rise and set. But when we examine these "fixed" systems closely, their fixity disappears. The

only permanent aspects of them are the generalizations we have made about them. From our limited, special time and space frames of reference, things both great and small seem changeless and stable and only human relations precarious. For daisies in a cow pasture, life is precarious and unstable. So is it for bacteria in the blood stream. It is probable that if electrons were as big as base-balls, they would appear at least as impermanent and unstable as base-balls and their behavior would be as erratic as that of a hot grounder on a rough infield.<sup>8</sup>

Modern physics perhaps has done more than any other science to shake our faith in the stability of non-social natural phenomena. But this disturbing conviction has been forced upon us by the development of all physical and biological sciences. Astronomy shows us worlds forming and dissolving; geology shows us continents rising and falling; biology shows us species appearing and becoming extinct; Mendelian units become complexes of genes; hereditary traits are modified by hormones and vitamins; instincts fall before conditioned responses; the eternal stability of elements dissolves in the acid of radioactivity. But here comes the electron,—surely, it is stable! Just why this inference should be made in the face of the fact that all other defined sensible objects are unstable is a mystery to me.

Let us look at the electron. If it is a stable energy unit, the whole theory of universal instability and an indeterminate universe obviously is untenable. There is substantial agreement upon the instability of the atom. Thirty years ago, Rowland said "I do not know what an atom of iron may be, but it must be as

<sup>8</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, p. 208. Helge Holst and H. A. Kramers, *Atom and the Bohr Theory of its Construction*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit., p. 54.

complicated a structure as a grand piano."<sup>9</sup> Millikan has recently said that atom-building is probably going on all about us, continually, even on the earth.<sup>10</sup> By the phenomena of radioactivity we know atoms are continually being destroyed. So the instability of the atom is admitted. But what of the electron? It would seem a reasonable inference that if atoms, like star systems, are unstable, and are made up of electrons, that the latter must also be unstable. Almost every atomic theory makes an implicit admission of this. Bohr's Theory, until recently the "best," emphasized the dramatic electronic "jumps" from orbit to orbit which implies a variable charge of electricity. The motion of the electron must also mean that at successive instants the atomic energy system is different because the internal relations are not the same. This certainly implies a very variable electron, perhaps as "complicated as a grand piano"—and as unstable.

Shrödinger's more recent theory, and in some respects the most satisfactory, leads to the same conclusion. If anything, his atom is more tenuous than Bohr's. His theory does little to assure us of the stability of the electron. "The electrons in Bohr's atom were in rapid motion in their orbits, while in the Shrödinger atom, the electric charge does not move about. It does, however, change its intensity at different points in the sphere at different instants of time. This fluctuation in the strength of the electric charge sets up light waves in the surrounding space."<sup>11</sup> In conversation with the writer in 1924,

<sup>9</sup> Paul R. Heyl; "What is an Atom?" *Scientific American*, July, 1928, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> R. A. Millikan and G. H. Cameron, "Origin of the Cosmic Ray," *Scientific American*, Aug., 1928, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> Paul R. Heyl, loc. cit., p. 11. See also A. S. Eddington. *The Nature of the Physical World*, pp. 191-9, 204-20.

Dr. Millikan stated that while physicists work with electrons as if they were stable, replaceable, identical, non-varying units, they probably are not. This, of course, is the case with all scientific objects, i.e., abstractions. We treat them as invariable constants. But for all units except those for which our sense-aiding instrumental means of observation are inadequate, it is quite obvious that the units are all unique and unstable.

It is easy to demonstrate that physical "constants" are all abstractions, and in a sense, fictions. Planck states that the principal constants in physics are: the velocity of light in a vacuum (but there are no vacuums); the electric charge and mass of an electron at rest (but electrons do not rest); the elementary quantum of action obtained from heat radiation (but this implies that quanta are not built up and do not diminish, which seems doubtful); the laws of gravitation (but objects never fall in vacuums, at sea-level, for there are no vacuums and sea-level itself is a variable). (Parentheses are mine, not Planck's.<sup>12</sup>)

The constants of physics are merely a species of scientific facts. They are statistically determined uniformities of behavior, that is, averages, probabilities. That is all "natural necessity," or "scientific certainty," means,—a high degree of probability. That is all it ever can mean.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> M. K. E. L. Planck, *A Survey of Physics*, London, 1925, p. 67. For a fine analysis of the nature of scientific laws, and especially the "fictional" nature of the laws of falling bodies, see Bernard, "Scientific Method and Social Progress," cited above pp. 5-9. "The law is not in nature. It is in the mind of the person who has formulated it as a method of seeing nature and in the minds of those who have copied it from him" (p. 6). See also A. S. Eddington, op. cit., chs. vi and vii for analysis of gravitation.

<sup>13</sup> See A. S. Eddington, op. cit., for the "Nature of exact science" and scientific prediction, pp. 250-7, 299-303.

Now all our frames of reference are terrestrial and anthropomorphic. The business of science is to purge itself of anthropomorphism, as Planck says.<sup>14</sup> All natural phenomena are unstable,—social natural phenomena no more or no less so than physical. There are innumerable types of uniform, repetitive social phenomena admitted by commonsense. The business of sociology is to reduce these to quantitative statement, to make them into statistically determined constants, so that within the limits of definition, "these quantities have a real meaning, since their values are independent of the condition, standpoint and view of the observer."<sup>15</sup>

It is now clear the assumption that social phenomena are more unstable than physical phenomena is based upon a misconception of the degree of stability of physical phenomena, a mistaken notion of the nature of physical constants, and a failure to eliminate anthropomorphic, subjective frames of reference.

As most physical energy-systems betray their instability upon close observation, so many social phenomena that seem unstable to the casual observer fall into relatively stable patterns when regarded from a certain point of view. We are continually increasing our list of relatively stable social phenomena. Those social energy patterns that are relatively permanent, we are accustomed to call "social structures." When we pay closer attention and find flux and instability, i.e., when the changes are irregular, (unclassified) and rapid (from our life-time-span point of view) we speak of "process," and look for "trends," i.e., generalizations that emphasize uniform continuity. Thus, stability and instability may characterize the same data, whether physical

or social, depending upon our point of view, or frames of time and space reference. Dewey has expressed it neatly. "As we can discourse of change only in terms of velocity and acceleration which involve relations to other things, so assertion of the permanent and enduring is comparative. The stablest thing we can speak of is not free from conditions set to it by other things."<sup>16</sup>

So the assertion that social phenomena are more complex than physical phenomena because they are more unstable does not seem valid. Both types are infinitely unstable and this "instability" disappears only when statistically derived, unanthropomorphic constants are found for relatively permanent types of repetitive uniform behavior. This leads us to the third question bearing on the nature of complexity.

#### ARE SOCIAL PHENOMENA MORE DISORDERLY?

The idea of the greater complexity of social than of physical phenomena is intimately bound up with the popular delusion that social events are unique and non-repetitive while physical events usually occur in uniform sequences. In other words, social phenomena are regarded as disorderly and physical phenomena as eminently orderly. There is law and order in the physical world, but anarchy and chaos in the social world. If the argument of the foregoing sections is valid the absurdity of this "disorderly" view is at once apparent.

The concept of the fundamental instability of all energy systems leads ineluctably to the conclusion that the universe

<sup>16</sup> *Experience and Nature*, p. 70. See also, pp. 71-2. For the view that social phenomena are more "internally unstable" than many types of physical phenomena, see Bernard, pp. 9-10, of the article cited above. He holds, however, that science reveals increasing numbers of relatively stable social phenomena.

<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., pp. 26-28, 68.

<sup>15</sup> Planck, op. cit., p. 67.



is indeterminate, and that all "orderliness" in it is superimposed by man. This process of "making natural laws" is possible because of the differential rates of change in energy structures. "Orderliness" appears when certain energy systems, whether social or physical, are relatively permanent compared to man's brief and limited time and space span. The greater the permanence relative to a human life-span and a day's travel, the more "orderly" the phenomena. The more unanthropocentric the generalizations of sense-experience become, the fewer there are. The business of science, is to make "laws" that will hold "true" for a frame of reference that transcends the time and space limits of one man's life-time. Hence, these "laws of the orderliness of nature," always have to assume conditions that never exist: (1) That defined units are identical; (2) That they do not change. Both of these assumptions are false; hence, "law and order" is merely an abstraction that proves to be useful, or logically valid, for a given time and place. "The constant is the demand for assurance and order, and the demand is met only by ignoring a vast number of things that nature presents to us."<sup>17</sup>

It requires very little commonsense observation to see that there are innumerable physical sense data which are very "disorderly." These are what Giddings calls "turbulences."<sup>18</sup> The falling of leaves from trees, dust whirls, biological variations, tire punctures, etc., are examples. But weather phenomena, Mendelian recessives, and most all other "orderly" physical and biological occurrences were

once in the category of turbulences. The history of science is the story of how man has imposed law and order on his universe by "ignoring a vast number of things" presented to his senses. Sense observations that do not fit into these categories of "order" are often ignored until they become so numerous, so well vouched for by a multitude of competent observers, that new "laws" have to be formulated to preserve the "orderliness" of the universe. A fine collection of such data is presented by Charles Fort in his *Book of the Damned*.<sup>19</sup> It is safe to say that in both the physical and the social sciences, the numbers of sense experiences that cannot be fitted into orderly and lawful categories at the present time vastly exceed those that can. Science reduces the number of these turbulences, or "damned sense-facts," by abstractional classification and generalization of the relatively uniform behavior of these hypothetical (scientific) identities.

It also requires little observation to demonstrate the orderliness of many types of social data. Every commonsense generalization, every justified anticipation of human behavior, every social organization, every statute, every adage, every fashion, custom, and every word, are evidences of this relatively repetitive "orderliness." The business of social science is to extend, quantify, deanthropomorphize these and to find others that commonsense, limited by time and space, cannot perceive.

Some orderly sequences of human behavior are just as universal and permanent as those of physical behavior. For example, it appears that mankind has always

<sup>17</sup> Dewey; op. cit., p. 13. See also, Planck, op. cit., pp. 101-2; Sellars, op. cit., pp. 154-5; Eddington, op. cit., pp. 250-7.

<sup>18</sup> *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, ch. vii, "Order and Possibility," esp. pp. 136, 143.

<sup>19</sup> See esp. ch. x for a mass of apparently accurate observations that do not fit into present physical (meteorological and astronomical) categories. They are the "damned facts," i.e., excluded from present scientific orthodoxy. While most of his cases are probably defective observations or deductions, the theoretical implication is interesting.

mated in pairs. Of course, there are exceptions, but there are also special cases in which objects do not fall toward the center of the earth, and no objects fall exactly according to the Newtonian formula. A better example is the generalization that all human beings transmit certain well defined culture patterns to their offspring. The exceptions are probably no more frequent than the actual observation of rocks falling upward. No scientific prediction is possible except in terms of probability, and under assumed conditions which never exactly exist. With this understanding, it is obvious that much social behavior is "orderly" enough to be predicted with a high degree of precision. All of us make such predictions every day. The "orderliness" of social phenomena is becoming greater and more accurate and being extended into realms hitherto undreamed of by scientific sociology and the other social sciences.

The conclusion, then, is that social phenomena *per se* are no more nor no less "orderly" than any other type of natural phenomena; that all "law and order" is supervenient in an indeterminate universe of unstable energy complexes; that man makes the "laws of nature" by postulating as identical, certain relatively stable and uniform events, classifying them, and generalizing from them; yet he is perforce always "ignoring a vast number" of uniquenesses, and individual differences. There are probably much greater numbers of physical than social turbulences because there are more physical than social objects. It is also probable that we shall never be able to reduce all turbulences, whether physical or social, to lawful, orderly, repetitive uniformity. It will be impossible if the universe is an indeterminate congeries of unstable energy systems as it appears to be.

(To be concluded)

## SOCIOLOGY IN THE WORKS OF FRANCIS LIEBER

LEE M. BROOKS

FRANCIS LIEBER (1800-1872) carried with him, when he left Germany in 1826, not only the memories of battles under Blücher and of political imprisonment in his native land, but also a physical and mental vigor which had come, in part, through his contacts with Friedrich Ludwig Jahn the gymnast; through his close association with Barthold Niebuhr the historian; and through his days at Jena where he had received the doctorate at the age of twenty. Arriving in Boston in 1827, he took charge of a gymnasium and swimming-school, a work which had been offered him before his departure for America. During the next five years his free time was devoted to writing an *Encyclopaedia Americana*

which "proved to be a financial success. In 1829, immediately after the first two volumes had been published, four thousand copies were sold. It brought Lieber into prominence. . . ."<sup>1</sup> "In 1832 he moved to New York, where he published a translation of De Beaumont and De Tocqueville's work on the penitentiary system, with an introduction and many notes, which were in turn translated in Germany."<sup>2</sup> "In 1834, Lieber's abilities were recognized by the trustees of Girard College, when they invited him to submit a plan for the organization of that institu-

<sup>1</sup> L. R. Harley, *Francis Lieber*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> C. S. Phinney, *Francis Lieber's Influence on American Thought and Some of His Unpublished Letters*, Univ. of Penn. 1918, Page 21.

tion. He entered upon the preparation of this plan with a pious feeling. He drew up an elaborate constitution consisting of two hundred and sixty-nine articles, besides seventy-eight rules and regulations."<sup>3</sup> South Carolina College called Lieber to the chair of history and political economy in 1835. It was during the twenty year period in South Carolina that he produced his greatest writings: *A Manual of Political Ethics* in two volumes (1838); *Legal and Political Hermeneutics* (1839); and *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* (1852).<sup>4</sup> At Columbia College in New York, a new chair of history and political science was created in 1857 and to this Lieber was appointed in that year. During the Civil War he prepared for the Union armies a manual of instructions which was published in 1863 under the title, *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*, General Orders, No. 100.

Military expert, athlete, and scholar, he was doubtless one of the most versatile thinkers and producers ever to come to America. To do justice to the content of his works is not possible in such a short article as this must be, but what is here presented may serve as a reference guide to the sociological emphasis in his more important writings.

Lately Lieber has been neglected by the social scientists in general. None of the recent texts in social theory recognizes the great contribution which he made to sociological thinking as well as to political science. The present study was suggested by L. L. Bernard and his vigorous

inquiries into the history of American Sociology. However, men like A. W. Small, W. W. Folwell, and J. W. Burgess owed much to him.<sup>5</sup> Small writes in reference to his own college days when he was made acquainted with Lieber's major works: "These were to me oases in the desert. . . . They were distinct factors among impulses that sent me to Germany, and I have frequently recurred to them meanwhile as samples of the spirit in which social problems should be studied. . . ."<sup>6</sup> J. W. Burgess, who succeeded Lieber at Columbia, acknowledged that Lieber had no small influence in sending him to Germany to study political science.<sup>7</sup> Such testimonials as these substantiate the recent statement of J. L. Gillin that Lieber "certainly had something to do with the new intellectual interest in economics, political science, and history following the Civil War."<sup>8</sup>

In spite of the fact that he did not use the newly coined word "sociology," all his books have considerable sociological emphasis, even though his product is primarily that of the social philosopher. Today he might be willing to be called a sociologist; at any rate it is perfectly clear that he was not afraid of new ideas and new terminologies. For example, he points out that "the term bureaucracy is called by many barbarous, nor has it so far as I know, been introduced into dictionaries of great authority. Be it so; but, while we have innumerable words compounded of elements which belong to different languages, a term for that distinct idea which is designated by the

<sup>3</sup> Harley, *op. cit.* 60, refers to Lieber's *A Constitution and Plan of Education for Girard College for Orphans*.

<sup>4</sup> For brevity in noting references, *Political Ethics* will be referred to as P. E. with volume and page number immediately following; *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*, as H; and *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, (third edition) as C. L.

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Small, "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 21, p. 728.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 729.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 728.

<sup>8</sup> J. L. Gillin, "The Development of Sociology in the United States," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 21, 3-4.



word bureaucracy has become indispensable . . . because the thing which must be named has distinctly developed itself. . . . In spite, therefore, of the want of lexical authority, it is almost universally used; for necessity presses."<sup>9</sup> Also in connection with word-coinage, he is directly responsible for the word "penology." "It belongs to criminal statistics, and to the whole science of punishment, or penology, as I have proposed to call it. . . ." <sup>10</sup> to consider the many evils in connection with criminal law.

Small states that "we must regard his work as chiefly a scattering of seed upon soil scantily prepared. The yield of his sowing has never been very precisely estimated."<sup>11</sup> In this regard it is noteworthy that some of the earliest courses in Social Science, a forerunner of sociology, made use of Lieber's writings. In 1876, President Laws of the University of Missouri introduced a course in Social Science in which *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* was used along with Spencer's <sup>12</sup> *Sociology*. Also in 1890, Small's first course at Colby College was based on Comte, Spencer, Lieber, and others.<sup>13</sup> That Lieber grasped the significance of human relations in a way we would call sociological is apparent from the various quotations which follow. He "looked abroad into universality."

It is painful indeed to observe how many persons walk through life with an obtuse mind and a dull eye, and yet do not feel prevented from boldly pronouncing their opinions upon all occasions. . . . Nothing which constitutes the framework of society,

and gives it its peculiar character, attracts them; they do not ask in what relation the tiller of the ground stands to the owner of the soil; how the taxes are decreed, assessed, and levied; what are the pastimes of the people, how often they eat meat in the week, what their standard of comfort, their habits of cleanliness are; in what relation their religion stands to their morality or practical life, whether the people read or not and what. . . . They never look as Bacon calls it 'abroad into universality'. . . . "Whatever we see or hear we ought to try to understand, attempt at least to learn its connection".<sup>14</sup>

Thus Lieber surveyed the field and focused upon essentials which have come to be the chief points of present day sociological emphasis. His central thought is of man as a social being, that humanity in isolation is impossible. Even his plan for Girard College prepared in 1834, is filled with little asides which stress the social aspects of education. In his remarks about history, his favorite science, he points out that:

Names and chronology are of great importance, but they are matters of memory, and must be treated as such, whilst one of the chief objects of the study of this science is the obtaining of a clear picture of the characters of individuals, bodies of men, and times.<sup>15</sup>

A rather dramatic passage of twenty-five lines in *Political Ethics* closes with the statement: "without society, no humanity in man."<sup>16</sup> Such expressions as: "man is bound to live in society," occur many times.<sup>17</sup> In this connection he speaks of man "as so little instinctive that even his sociality, so indispensable to his whole existence, has first to be developed."<sup>18</sup> "Man is not, strictly speaking, a gregarious animal but his sociability is, on this

<sup>9</sup> C. L. 165, footnote.

<sup>10</sup> P. E. II: 589.

<sup>11</sup> Small, *op. cit.* 727.

<sup>12</sup> L. L. Bernard, "Some Historical and Recent Trends of Sociology in the United States" *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, 9, p. 270.

<sup>13</sup> H. W. Odum, (ed.) *American Masters of Social Science*, p. 156.

<sup>14</sup> P. E. II: 168-169; 170.

<sup>15</sup> F. Lieber, *A Constitution and Plan of Education for Girard College for Orphans*, p. 216.

<sup>16</sup> P. E. I: 140.

<sup>17</sup> P. E. I: 107, 139, 167, 177, 178, 179, 240, 248, 306, 418; P. E. II: 159, 174, 234, 273; H. 4; C. L. 25, 39, 42.

<sup>18</sup> P. E. I: 108.

account, not the less natural."<sup>19</sup> Man and animals profit by experience, and on this point Lieber makes a remarkably modern statement regarding instinct: "Young animals learn from the old ones, and what thus appears to many, at first glance, to be instinct, i.e., a primitive and direct impulse of nature, will be found, on closer examination, to be the effect of experience."<sup>20</sup>

As a devotee of history he links it with what he calls the pathologic method. He discourses at some length upon the importance of what we would call societal analysis, especially upon the study of the conditions connected with revolutions. "Nations passed by are our subject; they lie still under the scalpel, and we may inquire with a mind unaffected by influences of the present times."<sup>21</sup> "We ought to study the course of despotism, for the physiologist learns as much from pathology as from a body in vigorous health."<sup>22</sup> "The pathologic method is an indispensable one in all philosophy and politics."<sup>23</sup> In his reference to the mind "unaffected by influences of the present times," Lieber is clearly endorsing objectivity rather than indicating the undesirability of studying the present times, since he had already pointed out that "man can be considered as he is, or ought to be, and as he has been; individually or socially; physically, morally, or intellectually."<sup>24</sup>

Suggestive of the "consciousness of kind" concept is the following. "Man is endowed with sympathy or fellow-feeling, . . . a peculiarly expansive feeling of attachment. The latter is an element of the greatest importance in everything at all

connected with man's social state. . . . We do actually find it with individuals to whatever tribe they may belong, or in whatever degree of civilization they may stand. . . ."<sup>25</sup> The lines just quoted immediately precede what seems to be a warning against the indiscriminate use of anthropological comparisons, about which he says: "We shall have to treat at some length of the capital error into which numerous philosophers have fallen, to the perversion of truth, in supposing that that only is natural to man, which, according to their presumption, is to be found in a supposed primitive stage of human society. . . . Nothing can be more fallacious and subversive of all truth than the supposition that man's nature, be it intellectual, moral, or physical, can be found out best, or only by observing him in what is supposed to be his state of nature, and a confusion of this supposed natural state with the state of savageness."<sup>26</sup>

His views as to the province and scope of science command attention. He is not given to slavish definitions; in fact he discounts the utility of straining for them. For him "the hope of being able absolutely to define things that belong either to the commonest life or the highest regions, betrays a misconception of human language."<sup>27</sup> "Language which absolutely expresses all that which is to be expressed, neither more nor less, for every mind, is possible in mathematics only; and mathematics moves within a narrow circle of ideas."<sup>28</sup>

In the first chapter of his *Political Ethics* he includes a lengthy discussion of the province of science. Ethics, for him, is not only a science, but everything is worthy of being scientifically investigated

<sup>19</sup> P. E. I: 109.

<sup>20</sup> P. E. I: 14.

<sup>21</sup> P. E. II: 104-105 footnote.

<sup>22</sup> C. L. 52.

<sup>23</sup> C. L. 271.

<sup>24</sup> P. E. I: 72.

<sup>25</sup> P. E. I: 5-6.

<sup>26</sup> P. E. I: 7.

<sup>27</sup> C. L. 23; also cf. H. 19.

<sup>28</sup> H. 15.

with the view of arriving at principles and laws.

Whether we are worthily occupied does not depend in an abstract point of view upon the subject we inquire into, but upon the mode and object of inquiry; yet it may depend upon the subject relatively to other important considerations. Whether the subject be mind or matter; the soul, thought, appetites, the organs, or the size of man, the laws of nature or society, truth, error, or fiction; things as they are or the changes through which they have become such,—everything may be scientifically investigated, is worthy of being so, and contributes essentially to our knowledge of the nature of things, their connection, their order, and the Being that prescribed it.<sup>29</sup>

The page on which the above remarks occur carries two footnotes, one for Quételet whose *Essay on Social Physics* had just been published (1835). "Mr. Quételet of Brussels, has published very interesting and important inquiries upon this subject" (the size of man, etc.). The other footnote defends "a person in England (who) has counted how often the word 'and' occurs in the bible. Yet facts, ascertained by mere curiosity may be used by others for higher purposes; as for instance, in this case, if a scholar were desirous of showing how late children or nations free themselves, in using prose, from a continual recurrence to the conjunction 'and'." Lieber holds that not only is there no absolute line of demarcation for any science, except that of mathematics, but "every science begins in an undefined state, mixed up with others, and becomes more distinctly developed with the progress of civilization."<sup>30</sup> "Science must always be far in advance of practice. The cultivation of sciences is for their own sake, and not for the confined view of immediate practical application."<sup>31</sup> "Similes and metaphors are most dangerous in arguments on religion, sciences, and

politics! They are serviceable by way of illustration. . . . but always misleading us if we argue upon them. Theology and politics offer melancholy illustrations of these facts. Millions have died for similes."<sup>32</sup> Lieber was devoutly religious but he believed that "the bible was not intended to make men inert copyists. . . . I believe they act impiously if they take it as a book of science, politics, or the arts."<sup>33</sup>

Lieber has a word for those who zealously and jealously guard what they consider their jurisdictional boundaries in the realm of science and scholarship.

I wish to express that earnestness in contemplating things, which strives to know their real character and connexion, and the absence of arrogant forwardness and self-sufficiency, which considers everything silly, useless, or unmeaning, because not agreeing with its own views or not showing its character at once to the superficial observer. . . .<sup>34</sup>

Elsewhere the following related idea occurs:

Men have been misled to consider their subject as totally separate and isolated, forgetting that everywhere there are gradual and connecting transitions between those points where things show themselves in their fullest and most developed character.<sup>35</sup>

Lieber's concepts are clear-cut and self-sustaining for the most part, and so far as possible they should be left to speak for themselves. Many of them of necessity remain unquoted, but some of the more interesting excerpts will be given in connection with the subjects to which they pertain, together with page references for some of those which are omitted.

His discussion of the "ethos"<sup>36</sup> (Sumner's "mores") is particularly interesting because of its striking similarity to the

<sup>29</sup> P. E. I: 2.

<sup>30</sup> cf. P. E. I: 70, 163.

<sup>31</sup> P. E. I: 198; also cf. II: 238.

<sup>32</sup> P. E. I: 191.

<sup>33</sup> P. E. II: 190.

<sup>34</sup> P. E. II: 244.

<sup>35</sup> P. E. II: 203-204.

<sup>36</sup> P. E. I: 4-5, footnote.



statement later developed by Sumner. This similarity is illustrated by the parallel passages which follow, taken from the writings of the two men, (*italics mine*). Lieber has just been discussing the ethical character of man and the place of conscience. Man, "the possessor of the superior intellect, should guide his volition by the action of the reflecting intellect."

LIEBER: There is a pain we feel at having done wrong,—who would say he never felt it? But this very *pain*, or the *pleasure* in good actions is *subject to reflection*. We have then to cultivate the original consciousness of right and wrong by reflection. Man does not live long, even in the rudest stages of society without feeling *approval or disapproval* at certain actions independently of their *judiciousness or expediency*. *These actions are gradually made the subject of reflection*, the character of this approval or disapproval is meditated upon, and *finally man arrives at certain ethic results*, clearly represented to his mind.<sup>37</sup>

SUMNER: The folkways are attended by *pleasure or pain* according as they are well fitted for the purpose. *Pain forces reflection* and observation of some relation between acts and welfare. At this point the *prevailing world philosophy* suggests explanations and inferences, which become entangled with *judgments of expediency*. However, the *folkways take on a philosophy of right living and a life policy for welfare*. Then they become *mores*, and they may be developed by inferences from the philosophy or the rules in the endeavor to satisfy needs without pain. Hence they undergo improvement and are made consistent with each other.<sup>38</sup>

Lieber stresses the individual and his ethical aspects while Sumner refers to the group process. The individual's *actions* on the one hand seem to correspond to the *folkways* of the group on the other hand. Pain brings about *reflection*. The group *approval or disapproval* in Lieber's passage is suggestive of the *prevailing world philosophy* of Sumner, and in each case the question of the expedient action or judgment is considered. For Lieber, group

pressures may override what is expedient; for Sumner, group rationalizations become involved with what is expedient. *Actions or folkways*, through *reflection* and development by *inferences*, finally produce certain *ethic results* in the individual or they become *mores* for the group. Thus it is quite apparent that these scholars were thinking along the same lines. Their terminology is similar, in some cases identical, and the passages follow a similar conceptual sequence. Both were thinking in terms of primitive man for purposes of illustration and explanation.<sup>39</sup>

Lieber traces the origins and processes involved in the development of states. "When families increase into tribes, and tribes again subdivide themselves, continued war between them. . . . is often the consequence. . . . As, however, the various tribes of common origin, cultivate the same religion, the celebration of common holy rites leads these distracted parts at certain seasons together. In order to celebrate these religious feasts in peace, it is necessary to suspend hostilities; this leads to agreements of peace for a limited period, and these become, in the course of time, the foundations of national compacts. Finally, many of these confederacies grow into more consolidated states."<sup>40</sup> "In the earlier times of the middle ages there was but a catenation. . . . (Groups) were not strictly socialized with one another, that is they had not grown into one comprehensive society."<sup>41</sup> Thus, the earlier social process is depicted as one of conflict and accommodation, rather than of assimilation.

Society is held to be an organic unity especially in its governmental aspects.

<sup>39</sup> Neither *Folkways* nor *The Science of Society* (Sumner and Keller) carries in its index any reference to Lieber.

<sup>40</sup> P. E. I: 331-332.

<sup>41</sup> P. E. II: 491.

<sup>37</sup> P. E. I: 48.

<sup>38</sup> W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 34.

He subscribes to a sort of "consciousness of kind"<sup>42</sup> concept rather than to a biological organism theory. "A society is a number of individuals between all of whom exists the same relation, the same as to principle, however modified it may be in other respects, or it is a number of individuals who have the same interest, and strive unitedly for it."<sup>43</sup> "The state is no accidental mass of atoms, it is an organism."<sup>44</sup>

Societal continuity results when "man gathers experience and transmits it from generation to generation, conscious of its being experience, and thus capable of receiving new additions."<sup>45</sup>

Lieber could have written a vital type of social psychology. That the behavior of the individual is conditioned by the influences, dictates, and pressures of social situations is a point of central emphasis. The germs of crowd psychology may be found in the following:

It is a psychological fact that whatever interests or excites a number of separate individuals will interest or excite them still more when brought together.<sup>46</sup>

Large, unarticulated masses are swayed by temporary opinions or passions, as much so as individuals, and it requires but a certain skill to seize upon the proper moment to receive their acclamation, if they are willing and consider themselves authorized to give away, by one sudden vote, all power and liberty. . . .<sup>47</sup>

Members of an institution will do that which, singly, they would never have dared to perpetrate.<sup>48</sup>

Huzzaing crowds are never substantial indications of any opinion, whether the crowds are voluntary or subpoenaed.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> cf. quotations against footnote 25.

<sup>43</sup> P. E. I: 163; C. L. 94, 192.

<sup>44</sup> P. E. I: 193, 397; P. E. II: 301, 313; C. L. 249, 250, 319, 366.

<sup>45</sup> P. E. I: 13, 147, 306; C. L. 86, footnote, 305, 318 footnote.

<sup>46</sup> C. L. 192.

<sup>47</sup> C. L. 387; P. E. I: 380.

<sup>48</sup> C. L. 312; P. E. I: 384.

<sup>49</sup> C. L. 396.

There are always very many who go to see a sight because others go, and very many people to whom huzzaing of itself seems to be an enjoyment.<sup>50</sup>

The multiplying power of excitement in a mob by rapid circulation is like the thousandfold wire in the electro-magnetic experiments.<sup>51</sup>

The mob generally consists of the most movable part of the population, not of the steady laborer or mechanic, hence of the least reflecting, and easiest excitable people.<sup>52</sup>

He also points out the importance of fashion:

Fashion—a phenomenon well nigh calculated to baffle the most searching mind, and which has never received the attention it deserves at the hands of the philosopher, in every point of view, whether psychological, moral, economical, or political. Unassisted by any public power, by the leading minds of the age, by religion, literature, or any concerted action, it nevertheless rules with unbending authority, often in spite of health, comfort, and taste, and it exacts tributes such as no sultan or legislature can levy. How can we explain this stupendous phenomenon?<sup>53</sup>

Nor does he neglect the significance of rumor:

Rumors may destroy credit, involve hundreds in ruin. . . . History furnishes illustrations of the evil and often awful effects which alarmists may produce.<sup>54</sup>

He indicates well the power of suggestion:

Since masses or large numbers are peculiarly subject to panics, . . . committees ought to be appointed . . . to investigate the causes and correctness of the rumor. . . . A committee is to masses what calm reflection is to every individual if he receives important news.<sup>55</sup>

The latter part of the quotation immediately preceding also suggests clearly the idea of social control.

Although he does not use such concepts as isolation, contact, association, interaction, communication, and mobility in a

<sup>50</sup> P. E. II: 155.

<sup>51</sup> P. E. II: 321.

<sup>52</sup> P. E. II: 319.

<sup>53</sup> C. L. 402.

<sup>54</sup> P. E. II: 50.

<sup>55</sup> P. E. II: 51-52.

formal way, a large number of passages from Lieber's writings can be placed under such categories without forcing the meaning or isolating them from their contexts. For example:

The all-pervading law of civilization is physical and mental mutual dependence, and not isolation.<sup>66</sup>

Where the people worship the army . . . there exists an alienating esprit de corps.<sup>67</sup>

Man, as a free agent, becomes, in contact with others, a jural being.<sup>68</sup>

Whatever has a tendency to impress man with the fact that he is a member of society, influenced and influencing. . . . has a tendency to elevate him. . . . Whatever tends to insulate man, to stifle the consciousness in him that he is an integrant part of society, produces egotism and crime, because it weakens humanity in him, which is in a great manner founded upon sociality.<sup>69</sup>

The associative principle is an element of progress . . . <sup>70</sup> The United States and England evidence an all-pervading associative spirit . . . <sup>71</sup>

Everything in society has a reciprocal effect.<sup>72</sup>

We cannot imagine a human society consisting of beings deaf, dumb, and blind. Man cannot be without communion.<sup>73</sup>

The fact that men remained socially together . . . caused them to make ample use of the organs of speech, so peculiar to man—language developed itself, the most powerful of all ties.<sup>74</sup>

Friendship becomes a ramified bond of society, a tie of good-will between individuals, who otherwise might remain insulated.<sup>75</sup>

Freedom of communion is one of the primary elements of civil liberty. The right of freely corresponding is unquestionably one of the dearest as well as most necessary of civilized man.<sup>76</sup>

The right of locomotion, or of free egress and regress, as well as free motion within the country, is another important individual right and element of liberty.<sup>77</sup>

New and powerful agents of intercommunication and diffusion of knowledge have produced a mobility and thirst for inquiry.<sup>78</sup>

Roads belong to the social agents of civilization; the question can only be, how shall we govern with them.<sup>79</sup>

Social control as a sociological term does not appear in his writings, but numerous references to public opinion and law would seem to indicate that he has the concept of control in mind. Public opinion is variously mentioned as "an invisible, mysterious power, which nothing can resist,"<sup>80</sup> and "as an indispensable agent of society."<sup>81</sup> "Government . . . must act out public opinion. To do this, two things are necessary; first, it must know public opinion, and, secondly, its action must be the regular action of society, not an irregular series of accidental impulses. Public opinion, however, can be ascertained by the sifting process of a representative system only. Otherwise, general, momentary opinion, rumor, even whim will rule instead of true, settled, public opinion."<sup>82</sup> In still another passage he points out that "it is this public opinion which gives sense to the letter, and life to the law: without it the written law is a mere husk."<sup>83</sup>

Further examples will serve to illustrate his conception of social controls. "I cannot live a day without feeling the restraint of law, the effect of living with others."<sup>84</sup> As for laws themselves, "good laws elevate man; bad laws. . . . degrade any society."<sup>85</sup> "Men must follow certain rules important for all, without which their individual interests must continually

<sup>66</sup> C. L. 295-296.

<sup>67</sup> C. L. 117.

<sup>68</sup> P. E. I: 202.

<sup>69</sup> P. E. II: 159.

<sup>70</sup> C. L. 125.

<sup>71</sup> C. L. 126.

<sup>72</sup> P. E. I: 80.

<sup>73</sup> P. E. I: 208-209.

<sup>74</sup> P. E. I: 112.

<sup>75</sup> P. E. II: 131.

<sup>76</sup> C. L. 87, 89.

<sup>77</sup> C. L. 93.

<sup>80</sup> P. E. II: 245.

<sup>81</sup> P. E. II: 355.

<sup>70</sup> P. E. I: 261, 399; P. E. II: 151.

<sup>72</sup> P. E. II: 370.

<sup>73</sup> P. E. II: 509.

<sup>73</sup> P. E. I: 256, also the entire section pages 255-262; H 179.

<sup>74</sup> P. E. I: 379.

<sup>75</sup> P. E. I: 79; cf. II: 228.



clash with one another, and society would become a far worse state than perfect insulation."<sup>76</sup> Another form of social control is veneration since "it would seem that providence has made this feeling one of the primary agents to unite society, one generation with the other, to make of communities continuous societies, and to prevent them from crumbling and disintegrating into mere masses of selfish particles."<sup>77</sup> The printed word also is a powerful influence. "The press is a power, a gigantic power; . . . and especially the newspaper press . . . is one of the mightiest agents in all that interests society. . . ."<sup>78</sup> Also "the pamphlet is one of the great agents of modern liberty."<sup>79</sup> In still another passage he considers "the petition . . . as one of the civil agents resorted to by a free people. Its distinct uses lie in its direct effect, in inciting and awakening public attention; in keeping alive an important idea, although it may not lead to immediate action; . . . in showing public opinion concerning some distinct point; in serving as a safety-valve in times of public excitement, and in being a substitute for unorganized and unreasoning crowds."<sup>80</sup>

In another passage, Lieber seems to have the idea which was later termed by Ogburn, cultural lag:

Whenever a vast new agent of society is brought into play, it lasts some time before it adapts itself to the laws and the laws to it; it was so when Christianity became a vast social agent, . . . or when the reformation became a great agent or diffused knowledge.<sup>81</sup>

The same idea occurs in the following excerpt concerning the penal law:

It is one of the most common facts of history that a nation is more or less advancing in nearly all the branches of civilization, while the penal trial and the whole penal law remains almost stationary in its barbarous inconsistency.<sup>82</sup>

Various problems in social pathology are discussed. For example, he stresses crime and political graft especially. Early environment has much to do with later criminality. "No person that knows anything of the secret history of criminals and of himself, can go through a penitentiary without confessing that had he passed from childhood through the same circumstances and scenes, which encompassed many inmates of the prison from their earliest years, he probably too would be in the same unfortunate situation."<sup>83</sup> He noted that "each farther-advanced stage of society offers new opportunities for crime,"<sup>84</sup> and that "in most civilized countries the agricultural districts are less productive of crime than others."<sup>85</sup> Also "prostitution at large is invariably coupled with crime."<sup>86</sup> He gives credit to Beccaria for "showing the inexpediency and cruelty of most penal systems."<sup>87</sup> In a rather long passage he expresses himself thus regarding political and judicial corruption: "We feel ourselves humbled and dispirited . . . when we see ourselves surrounded by men with loose political principles, by a society destitute of active public opinion, which neither cheers the honest nor frowns down immoral boldness; when we hear of bribed judges, perjured officers, suborned witnesses, of favor instead of law . . ."<sup>88</sup> "Favoritism is one of the most dangerous vices of governments, because it may steal in under the

<sup>76</sup> P. E. I: 178, 188.

<sup>77</sup> P. E. II: 226-227.

<sup>78</sup> P. E. II: 352, 360, 362; C. L. 128.

<sup>79</sup> P. E. II: 471, footnote.

<sup>80</sup> C. L. 124.

<sup>81</sup> P. E. II: 353.

<sup>82</sup> C. L. 70-71.

<sup>83</sup> P. E. I: 43.

<sup>84</sup> P. E. I: 148.

<sup>85</sup> P. E. I: 152, footnote.

<sup>86</sup> P. E. II: 177.

<sup>87</sup> P. E. II: 45.

<sup>88</sup> P. E. I: 79-80.

garb of that which in itself is good and right, of gratitude to those who served us, of liberality, or . . . of friendship."<sup>89</sup> Another weakness in human society is that of the desire for popularity and "the dread of unpopularity which has ruined many statesmen, led authors to abjure truth, . . . and shows its unfortunate effect with the young in schools and colleges in free countries."<sup>90</sup> In several places Lieber considers the press as an especially difficult problem: "It appears to me that upon examination it will be found that one of the main problems of our times is, and for a long time to come will remain, how this agent of the public press . . . is properly to co-exist with the rights of the individual and of society . . ."<sup>91</sup>

In his discussion of crime Lieber inserts a note<sup>92</sup> describing briefly some research he had done in the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, and also refers to the interest of H. C. Carey in the matter. He deals with the police, informers (present day "stool-pigeons"), unwise pardoning, and jury verdicts. Concerning the latter he advocated majority decision rather than unanimity. On these and other aspects of criminology and penology he holds a remarkably modern viewpoint.

The following passage indicates his position as to social diagnosis and therapeutics:

If we do not learn to discover the elements of the phenomena around us, we shall continually fall into that grave error which has convulsed large nations, namely, the mistaking of great social evils for merely political evils; for a remedy of which we seek, therefore, in a change of laws or institutions, while the seat of the disease is in a totally different region, and the cure must, consequently, come from different remedies.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> P. E. II: 134.

<sup>90</sup> P. E. II: 151.

<sup>91</sup> P. E. II: 353-354, 365, 369.

<sup>92</sup> P. E. II: 243.

<sup>93</sup> P. E. II: 174-175.

His feeling about coöperation and conflict is indicated by his statement that "all coöperation may lead to conflict" and that "there is occasional jarring of interests or powers wherever there are general rules of action. . . . Life is often strife, in the social region as in that of nature."<sup>94</sup> "A war, to be justifiable, must be undertaken on just grounds; . . . must be the last resort, that is, after all other means of reparation are unavailable or have miscarried."<sup>95</sup> However, revolutions become at times indispensable,<sup>96</sup> and "many nations have been morally rescued by wars which imparted new vigor to them."<sup>97</sup> He has little faith in the efficacy of a league of nations since "it is impossible to bring nations into so close contact as is the case in those congresses, and yet to separate the international questions strictly from questions which, though domestic, are of general interest. . . . Wherever people meet, the most powerful must sway; it is the law of nature."<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, he feels that the only safe way to deal with conflicts is to investigate them and try to establish guiding rules.<sup>99</sup>

Consideration of the major societal institutions is not neglected by Lieber. "The state . . . is the society of societies."<sup>100</sup> It is "the noblest, vastest, highest institution."<sup>101</sup> "The state always remains a means, yet it is the most indispensable means to obtain the highest end, that man be truly man. . . ."<sup>102</sup> "There is, however, a fundamental law superior to any fundamental charter, that is reason, right and nature, and that superior fundamental law of all humanity

<sup>94</sup> C. L. 340.

<sup>95</sup> P. E. II: 653.

<sup>96</sup> H 134, footnote.

<sup>97</sup> P. E. II: 646.

<sup>98</sup> P. E. II: 651.

<sup>99</sup> H 69.

<sup>100</sup> P. E. I: 180, 191.

<sup>101</sup> P. E. I: 100.

<sup>102</sup> P. E. I: 180.

requires, in cases of high conflict, first to be obeyed."<sup>103</sup> To illustrate this: "If my government prevents me from importing what books I see fit to use for the pursuit of my studies, I have an undoubted right to evade the law, if I deem it expedient, for the pursuit of truth is a law of infinitely greater authority . . . than any law enacted by temporary authority."<sup>104</sup>

The family is looked upon as "so important an agent in leading man to society, to civilization, (that it) obtains a higher importance with every progress which society makes in civilization."<sup>105</sup> He points out that Europe owes her early and great superiority to monogamy.<sup>106</sup> He considers the love of family a powerful agent in the control and improvement of society, an incentive to exertion, and a source of public spirit.<sup>107</sup> His attitude toward women is highly traditional. While admitting that there are a few women whose extraordinary mental organization justifies their entrance into public life, most women are of an inferior grasp of mind. Such women as these step beyond their "proper circle of activity, the family, when they abandon the sphere of tender sentiment, affection, peace, and love."<sup>108</sup>

Throughout his works, education is a primary emphasis. "Education . . . is a subject of the first magnitude in everything that relates to society."<sup>109</sup> "All the most civilized and elevated nations have with much care and earnestness es-

tablished general school systems or are actively striving for it. . . . The whole science and practice of education has become general and honored. . . ."<sup>110</sup>

"Society is deeply interested in religion."<sup>111</sup> "Man will not and cannot live without some religion of whatever character; and if he has not a true one he will embrace a false one."<sup>112</sup>

He seems to endorse the essentials of a state supported Public Welfare organization. "Public hospitals are not a mere matter of charity, they are a matter of right."<sup>113</sup>

The sources from which Lieber draws are large in number. He has a comprehensive grasp on European and American thought. He is meticulous in detail, often going to great lengths to trace the etymology of a word back to Greek or Gothic. His allegiance to the theory of natural law does not greatly weaken his scientific grasp. He observes a healthy skepticism and seems, in the main, inductive in his statements. His tolerance of the new is apparent, and consonant with the venturesome personality which knew the rigors of military warfare and political imprisonment, as well as the refinements of scholarship. In the realm of dynamically progressive ideas he proceeds with confidence and foresight, more after the manner of the twentieth century than of the early nineteenth. Because of his originality and great influence upon the thought of his time, he deserves high place among the earlier American masters of social philosophy and among the forerunners of sociology.

<sup>103</sup> P. E. II: 302.

<sup>104</sup> P. E. II: 302.

<sup>105</sup> P. E. I: 152.

<sup>106</sup> P. E. II: 178.

<sup>107</sup> P. E. II: 138.

<sup>108</sup> P. E. I: 153; II: 253, 260.

<sup>109</sup> P. E. II: 233.

<sup>110</sup> P. E. II: 237.

<sup>111</sup> P. E. II: 182.

<sup>112</sup> P. E. II: 183.

<sup>113</sup> P. E. I: 197.



## SOCIOLOGICAL HETEROGENEITY

BRUCE L. MELVIN

THE divisions of subject matter and the schedules of courses in sociology present a hodge-podge when a comparison is made between the catalog announcements of different universities. At least this assertion is true if nine leading universities, the announcements of which have been analyzed, afford a fair picture of the situation. No unity exists in organization of the departments, in the courses taught, and in the subjects emphasized; the schemes followed seem to reflect the personal likes of the man in charge, a certain necessity for making something practical or particular conditions through which the school has evolved. The deplorableness of the whole situation is that it reflects the lack of science as applied to the field, the application of personal ambitions and interests which have played a dominating part in the upbuilding of departments, and the impossibility for a discriminating student knowing when he is studying sociology.

## LACK OF UNITY

No unity maintains in the groups of subjects which are listed. On the whole, the subjects seem to fall into groups which are as follows; General Sociology, Anthropology, Social Origins, Social Organization, Social Theory, Social Service, Statistics, Community Organization, Social Problems, Social Psychology, Demography, Research, and Miscellaneous. The last is added because certain courses did not fall under any of the first twelve headings or others that might have been devised. In one institution Anthropology and Social Problems constitute the only two groupings, excepting one course in General Sociology; here there is a department of Anthropology, one of Social

Ethics, and the General Sociology is given in the Department of Economics by an eminent economist. Another institution has its Department of Sociology and Anthropology with a separate department of Social Service. A third school has a Department of Sociology in which training in social service is given; Anthropology constitutes another department. Other universities offer no work in Anthropology or Social Service, and in one case the Anthropology of the Indians who lived in that particular state is taught. This practice might be termed "Anthropological Provincialism."

Little unity in the names of courses maintains, whether or not there exists anything approaching a sameness of contents it is impossible to determine from described and undescribed lists. Comparisons indicate a decided want of harmony. The category of subjects in three groups displays the discrepancies; the groups are Social Theory, Social Service, and community Organization. In Social Theory one institution lists the following subjects. Modern Trends in Sociology, Social Control, Social Change, Sociology and the Social Sciences, Modern German Sociology, Modern French Sociology, Theory of Disorganization, and Social Forces. Three other universities have Social Control listed; this is the only subject in Social Theory that as many as four of the nine universities are offering. One department stands by itself in giving courses on Social Interpretations, Sociology of Conflict, and Sociology of Revolutions. Three schools out of the nine offer Social Progress.

The subjects covered by Social Service present an even greater individualistic, chaotic mass than do those in Social Theory. The subjects listed in the follow-

ing sentence are offered in one institution, where Social Service is a separate department, but the same courses are given in none of the eight others. These courses are Public Charitable Services, Principles of Case Work, Problems of Case Work and Treatment, Theory of Social Case Work, The state and the Child, Rural Social Work, Social Work and the Church, Crime and its Social Treatment, Medical Social Work, Social Hygiene and Protective Work, Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency, Social Control of the Mentally Handicapped, Psychiatry for Social Workers, and Behavior Disorders of Children. The total number of hours which these courses constitute is seventy-one. If this list is taken as a criterion a student would know nothing about social service work if he or she took all the thirty-seven hours in the courses listed by an equally ambitious program in another university. The subjects in this second place of higher learning are as follows: Group Work in the Community, Elementary Training in Group Work, Elementary Training in Case Work, Technique of Leadership in Group Work, Principles of Administration Applied to Social Work, Advanced Case Work, Juvenile Courts and Probation, Social Case Work in Health Problems, Legal Protection of the Child, Field Practice in Legal Protection of the Child, Mental Case Work and Advanced Field Training in Group or Case Work.

The subjects placed under the heading of Community Organization show only four universities offering such courses; one has only a three hour course, and the other a four. A third department offers nineteen hours work under the headings: The Community and the Church, Leisure and Recreation, Administration of Recreation, Boy's Work Organization, and Girl's Work Organization. The twelve hours which the fourth department lists

are under the following subjects: Community Organization, Advanced Group Organization, Social Aspects of Play, and Leadership and Group Organization. I have been concerned for some time to know just what Community Organization is, and I know just as little as previous to the examination of the curricula in the field.

The fact that one institution gives special emphasis to one group of subjects in no way indicates that a second may do the same. The courses in Social Psychology and Demography illustrate this splendidly. Only four departments offer courses in Social Psychology; two of these give three hours each, one two courses making six hours, and the other twenty-three hours. In Demography, one school lists eighteen hours distributed between four courses, a second eight hours offered through two subjects, one a three hour course and one a two hour course.

#### WHAT THE SITUATION INDICATES

The organization of courses and the particular subjects offered may indicate a number of different factors which only a detailed knowledge of the history of the various departments would reveal. However, an examination of the catalogs suggests very definite conclusions.

The particular interests of the man or men in charge find expression in the courses for the students. A few subjects given under the heading of Anthropology evidence this. Examples in this field offered are as follows: Races and Cultures of Oceania, Primitive Man in Ohio, Races and Culture of Asia, and the Psychology of Culture. In one particular case Anthropology is given in the Department of Sociology, apparently because the head of the department once had training in the subject.

The Theological school has introduced

several subjects into its curriculum dealing with Social Problems. If training in General Sociology is a requisite or aids to the understanding of the various social problems then the theological student is severely handicapped, very little attention is paid to the fundamentals of the subject in that particular school. Thus these courses appear to have been introduced somewhat opportunistically to give the outgoing ministers a perspective of problems it is their religious duty to solve.

A second conclusion is that the field of Sociology is not yet a science. No fundamental principles, purposes or objectives underlie the placing of courses in Sociology in the curricula or the arrangement of the subjects into the various groups. The student going into medicine or engineering must take specific courses in physics and chemistry because these are basic sciences, having a definite subject-matter content needed for the two practical lines of human endeavor. Students preparing for professional training in some field like law, medicine, engineering, the ministry, or teaching might be permitted to take certain courses in Sociology, but no place do we find it required. It is lacking in fundamental principles and definite content to which those directing students in pre-professional work can turn.

Sociology has won and holds the place that it has in universities and colleges because of its human interests and not through its practical values. Stimulating teachers make courses attractive, students are always interested in the human aspects of life, hence they attend classes in this particular field.

#### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the midst of this heterogeneity careful thinking, planning, working, and organizing is needed. Sociology to jus-

tify its existence must carve out its own field, develop specific laws, and make a contribution to the solving of problems in the complex world of human relationships. Can it, in its various aspects remain a stimulating field to contribute to the cultural development of students? One practical aspect concerns the worker who may be connected with a College of Agriculture and depending upon appropriations from the Federal Government for research funds, which funds must be approved by an exact scientist. There is no way for the rural sociologist, if he were to depend upon the announcements in university catalogs, to explain to this scientist what the field is in which he is working; approval of projects can be made only on the personal confidence that the worker will produce something of value.

Should courses in Social Theory be listed as a part of the field of Sociology? Is Social Theory the same as Sociological Theory? In common parlance Economics, Political Science, History, and Sociology are all included under the heading of Social Science. Accordingly do the courses in Social Theory deal with economic and political theories? If we are going to be logical should we not have courses in Sociological Theory?

Another aspect of the situation concerns courses in Social Problems and Social Service. Social problems are not sociological problems. The breakup of the modern family is a social problem, but is it any more one of sociology than of economics, or even of biology? Poverty is a social problem; it is a state of inadequate income for a particular person or family. This person or family may draw money from the state or city, a political unity. The solution of any so-called social problem means bringing knowledge from the fields of economics, political science,



psychology and often medicine and biology. Take the problem of family disorganization; the trouble may be basically economic accentuated by poor health and a biological maladjustment, which has caused certain mental sets to have developed. The successful family advisor and friend who may aid in the solution of a family difficulty is an artist not a scientist. Where does sociology come in?

#### AN EVALUATION OF THE SITUATION

The situation reflects the general status of Sociology; it is in the state of formation; no pessimism is meant to be implied in the paper. A variety of theories prevail to guide and stimulate teaching and

research in this field. The development of Sociology as a science has not gone far enough that any one can legitimately be dogmatic in stating what does and what does not belong to the subject. It is probable that its progress may parallel that of psychology and we can have a "Sociologies of 1935." Ramification, experimentation, variation and fluidity precede the solidification of the subject-matter into a science. Sociology is yet fluid; no one can yet say that what he teaches is sociology and what someone else gives to his students is not. Its human interest is holding it in the curricula and will continue to do so until a Science of Sociology is created.

#### CHRISTMAS MEETINGS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE GROUPS

Meeting in Washington from December 27-30 are the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the National Community Center Association, and the American Farm Economic Association. The American Political Science Association and the American Association for Labor Legislation will meet in New Orleans, while the American Historical Association will hold its meetings at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Programs of these organizations may be secured by writing their secretaries:

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *American Sociological Society*, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

FREDERICK S. DEIBLER, *American Economic Association*, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

WILLFORD I. KING, *American Statistical Association*, 236 Wooster Street, New York City.

LEROY E. BOWMAN, *National Community Center Association*, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

W. I. MYERS, *American Farm Economic Association*, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

J. R. HAYDEN, *American Political Science Association*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

J. B. ANDREWS, *American Association for Labor Legislation*, 131 East 23d Street, New York City.

DEXTER PERKINS, *American Historical Association*, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### INDEXES OF PUBLIC WELFARE WORK IN INDIANA

R. CLYDE WHITE

THE Indiana Board of State Charities has had an unusually complete system of records of the reporting agencies since about 1900. Thirteen major types of work have been reported since the year 1900 or before that year, and six others have been added at various times since 1900. These agencies represent fairly completely the work in the state which is done for the unfortunate and handicapped classes of the population. The fact that data are available for so many agencies over a long period of time makes the computation of index numbers of public welfare work simpler and at the same time more important than if the number of agencies had been smaller and the time shorter.

The usefulness of index numbers has been increasingly apparent during the last ten years. As a matter of history, index numbers are largely associated with changes in price and production, although it is widely recognized that the principle might be applied to many other types of time series. Several applications of the index principle to poor relief have been made: examples are Rubinow's index for Philadelphia, Hexter's index for Boston, Chapin's index for Minneapolis, and Hurlin's index for forty-two family relief societies. They have been confined mainly

to data for outdoor relief. Consequently, we may designate these indexes as special purpose indexes in the field of social work.<sup>1</sup> For the Indiana data both special and general indexes have been computed. The object has been to provide an easy way of observing changes in the volume of work done since 1900.<sup>2</sup>

A brief statement of the technical problems involved will suffice so far as this aspect of the paper is concerned. (1) The number of persons aided, as used here, refers to the number under care on a given date, with the exception of outdoor relief which includes all persons aided during the year. Outdoor relief is not reported for a given date. Hence, outdoor relief is omitted as a factor in the General Index, because it would have an unwarranted relative importance. (2) The cost per

<sup>1</sup> In this paper the term "public welfare work" is used instead of "social work," and a word of explanation of its usage is required. In this paper it is confined to charities and corrections, and by charities and corrections here we mean the institutions and agencies which report to the Indiana Board of State Charities.

<sup>2</sup> Much of the work of computing the indexes was done in a course on methods of social research given by the writer, and he wishes to give credit to the following students for their part in the work: Miss Dorothy Hacker, Mr. Charles R. Parks, Miss Mildred Pleasant, and Mrs. Frances Doan Streightoff.

person aided was found by dividing the total cost of maintenance of an agency for a year by the number of persons under care on a given date. (3) Allowance for population changes within a decade was made by computing the number of persons aided per hundred thousand population. The population in intercensal years was estimated by the arithmetic method. (4) Changes in the purchasing power of money were discounted by deflating expenditures for maintenance with the Index of General Prices of the New York Federal Reserve Bank. (5) The base year is 1913 for our indexes as well as for the price index. (6) A system of money weights was used for each of the series entering into the General Index. The annual costs per person in each series, after applying the General Index of Prices, were arranged in an array, and the mean of the middle four items (in the case of a few series which had an odd number of items, the middle five items of the array were used) was taken as the weight for each year in that series. Put in algebraic form, the weights were derived in the following manner.

Let  $I_{fr}$  = Federal Reserve Price Index in a given year.

$C$  = Total actual cost of a service in a given year.

$N_1$  = Number of persons aided in a service in a given year.

$C_{1.0}, C_{1.1}, \dots, C_{1.n}$  = Cost in 1913 dollars per person aided in 1900, 1901, . . . nth year.

Or

$$(1) \quad C_{1.0} = \frac{C \times 100}{\frac{I_{fr}}{N_1}}$$

Now, if  $C_{1.0}, C_{1.1}, \dots, C_{1.n}$  in a given series are arrayed and the mean of the middle four or five items in the array is

taken, the result is the weight,  $W$ , for that series. Weights for all of the 19 series were computed in a similar manner.

The remainder of the formulas for the General Index and special indexes of public welfare in Indiana were derived in the following manner.

Let  $N_0$  = Number of persons aided in a service in the base year.

$P_0$  = Population in hundreds of thousands in the base year.

$P_1$  = Population in hundreds of thousands in the given year

$q_0$  = Persons aided per 100,000 population, the quantity which is multiplied by the weight in the base year for a service.

$q_1$  = Persons aided per 100,000 population, the quantity which is multiplied by the weight in the given year for a service.

Hence

$$(2) \quad q_0 = \frac{N_0}{P_0}$$

$$(3) \quad q_1 = \frac{N_1}{P_1}$$

Let  $I$  = Index of a service for a given year.

$I_{pw}$  = General Index of public welfare in a given year.

Therefore,

$$(4) \quad I = \frac{q_1}{q_0}$$

$$(5) \quad I_{pw} = \frac{\sum q_1 W}{\sum q_0 W}$$

The General Index of public welfare in a given year is the ratio of the sum of the products of the several quantities and their respective weights for the given year to the sum of the products of the quantities



and weights for the base year. That is, it is the result of the application of formula (5). Formula (4) gives the special index for any service to which it is applied.

Special indexes will be presented first. Table I is a list of the public welfare agencies which enter into the General Index of public welfare, and those which are marked with asterisks are series for which

TABLE I  
PUBLIC WELFARE INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES AND  
THEIR WEIGHTS

NAME	WEIGHT
* Five hospitals for the insane.....	195.50
* School for Feeble-minded Youth.....	140.30
* County Boards of Children's Guardians (dependent and neglected children)...	43.80
* Old Soldiers Home.....	208.30
* Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home...	262.50
* School for the Deaf.....	283.00
* School for the Blind.....	335.80
* State Prison.....	147.00
* State Reformatory.....	181.50
* State Woman's Prison.....	217.05
* State Boys' School.....	182.30
* State Girls' School.....	214.70
* County Poor Asylums.....	169.00
* Colony for Epileptics.....	248.20
* Hospital for Tuberculosis.....	480.00
State Penal Farm.....	127.60
State General Hospitals.....	864.80
Farm Colony for the Feeble-minded.....	327.40
* Outdoor relief.....	5.85

special indexes have been computed.<sup>3</sup> Special indexes were not computed for the State Penal Farm, the General Hospitals, and the Farm Colony for the Feeble-minded, because these came into existence after our base year, 1913. It would have been necessary to select another base year to compute special indexes for these institutions, and comparisons between indexes for these three institutions and other agencies would have been difficult because

<sup>3</sup> Outdoor relief is listed here (although it is not a factor in the General Index) because a special index of outdoor relief has been computed.

of the difference in base years. However, these three institutions have been included in the General Index, although they do not enter into the base year aggregate as separate items. One of the important advantages of the aggregative type of index number, which we have used here, is that new quantities can be added in any year without difficulty. Since the state of Indiana is continually developing new services or more specialized services to take care of persons formerly cared for by generalized services, it is desirable to use an index number which permits the addition of these services without difficulty.

Two important types of public welfare had to be omitted from consideration, because there is no central agency which receives complete statistical reports of their populations and costs. These are probation and county jails. The State Penal Farm receives all misdemeanants after sentence who are required to serve thirty days or more in penal institutions. The population of jails is now restricted to persons awaiting trial or to those sentenced for less than thirty days. Consequently, the General Index does reflect incarceration of misdemeanants to a considerable extent since the establishment of the State Penal Farm in 1915. Probation has been growing as a method of handling first offenders and persons guilty of less serious misdemeanors, but figures for this service are not available. Whether inclusion of complete statistics for these two services would affect materially the trend of the General Index cannot be determined, but it probably would. This opinion is based upon the fact that a correlation of  $+ .918 \pm .020$  was found between the number of jail prisoners and the number of felons for the period of 1900 to 1927.<sup>4</sup> If

<sup>4</sup> Costs for jail prisoners are not reported to the Board of State Charities, but the number of prisoners is reported. See 38th Annual Report, p. 100.

this correlation should hold for the weighted quantities of these two series, inclusion of jails would add something to the upward swing of the General Index.

pute the slopes of the straight line trends for the different series:

$$m = \frac{\sum xy}{\sum x^2}$$

TABLE II

SPECIAL INDEXES FOR THE INSANE, YOUNG MENTAL DEFECTIVES, DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN, OLD SOLDIERS, DEAF, BLIND, STATE PRISON, STATE REFORMATORY, SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' ORPHANS, STATE WOMAN'S PRISON, BOYS' SCHOOL, POOR ASYLUMS, OUTDOOR RELIEF, EPILEPTICS, GIRLS' SCHOOL, AND TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM, 1900 TO 1927

YEAR	INSANE	YOUNG DEFECTIVES	DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN	OLD SOLDIERS	DEAF	BLIND	STATE PRISON	STATE REFORMATORY	SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' ORPHANS	WOMAN'S PRISON	BOYS' SCHOOL	POOR ASYLUMS	OUTDOOR RELIEF	EPILEPTICS	GIRLS' SCHOOL	TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM
1900	80.2	67.1	100.4	75.8	117.7	115.2	76.3	101.2	151.8	237.2	109.5	110.6	103.0			
1901	80.6	68.7	110.5	67.7	117.1	117.4	79.8	102.3	147.9	161.6	103.0	108.7	116.5			
1902	83.5	75.6	109.3	67.4	116.2	106.5	72.8	104.6	140.2	174.5	104.0	106.9	109.9			
1903	82.7	86.2	100.1	74.2	117.1	106.5	68.1	106.4	155.1	193.7	112.0	104.8	86.8			
1904	87.3	86.4	105.7	76.6	123.4	115.2	75.2	111.6	132.5	193.7	111.0	113.4	99.1			
1905	89.0	88.2	114.3	84.0	116.2	113.0	80.3	111.9	121.2	219.6	110.0	108.1	96.9			
1906	90.0	86.4	113.3	90.8	116.2	104.3	84.5	120.6	115.5	233.3	108.0	107.9	82.9			
1907	87.2	86.7	104.4	88.1	96.3	102.2	93.9	128.7	106.5	194.1	103.0	108.3	79.5			
1908	87.6	91.3	107.8	92.3	100.9	104.3	99.6	135.9	97.0	66.7	102.0	111.3	118.1	4.0	85.4	
1909	75.0	94.0	105.9	105.3	99.1	102.2	100.5	128.9	84.5	86.3	128.5	109.1	113.7	55.8	116.5	
1910	90.2	93.1	104.5	107.1	69.2	102.2	95.1	114.5	75.0	84.3	123.0	104.2	89.6	55.8	116.5	
1911	93.0	97.3	105.2	103.0	90.7	102.2	92.0	116.8	86.9	90.2	110.5	100.1	88.4	54.5	107.7	85.4
1912	98.5	98.4	103.3	90.4	97.2	100.0	98.6	114.8	95.2	100.0	102.5	100.4	104.1	81.1	113.6	80.5
1913	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1914	100.6	102.0	103.1	102.1	95.3	89.1	95.3	106.9	102.5	66.7	97.5	104.1	157.5	102.6	102.9	104.9
1915	100.7	100.1	104.9	98.8	92.5	93.4	112.4	131.3	98.2	115.7	98.0	109.4	193.4	109.1	109.7	117.1
1916	101.9	105.3	105.2	89.6	91.6	89.1	105.2	137.1	98.8	102.0	97.5	102.7	139.9	138.9	117.4	121.9
1917	102.5	107.3	105.3	95.8	96.2	80.4	98.1	133.0	89.9	143.1	100.0	107.9	132.4	158.4	126.2	121.9
1918	96.2	108.2	111.9	73.0	90.7	80.4	107.2	44.3	73.2	70.6	96.0	100.6	119.2	157.1	123.3	126.8
1919	96.2	107.1	99.9	73.6	96.3	69.6	78.9	70.4	68.3	60.8	93.0	97.4	91.1	167.5	124.3	107.3
1920	95.8	107.3	89.7	65.0	87.9	84.8	70.5	70.1	57.1	49.0	90.5	95.3	84.5	166.2	121.4	87.8
1921	97.6	105.1	89.6	59.3	94.4	91.3	107.2	77.7	60.7	60.8	87.5	99.5	151.2	184.4	121.4	85.4
1922	100.7	106.2	91.0	58.5	95.3	89.1	112.7	97.4	58.9	64.7	88.0	101.0	178.1	185.7	108.7	102.4
1923	101.2	109.3	88.0	54.0	100.0	84.8	136.6	58.8	54.2	82.3	74.0	99.2	95.2	179.2	107.8	104.9
1924	100.8	112.9	88.1	53.1	105.6	89.1	137.0	105.2	58.9	84.3	78.5	98.9	132.7	177.9	107.8	136.6
1925	103.6	110.4	88.0	51.3	105.6	82.6	132.6	145.2	65.5	96.1	82.5	102.4	139.7	215.6	102.9	129.0
1926	105.0	110.9	86.2	40.9	106.5	80.4	135.4	160.6	69.0	116.6	78.5	104.2	161.4*	275.3	100.0	136.6
1927	104.4	111.1	87.3	35.0	116.2	82.6	139.8	184.1	85.7	125.5	75.5	107.9	202.3	280.5	100.0	129.0

\* Note: Based upon estimated relief.

Table II gives the special indexes.

The trends of these series of indexes can be seen more easily from a table of slopes. The following formula was used to com-

pute the slopes of the straight line trends for the different series:

in which  $x$  is the step deviation from the year of origin, in most series 1913, and  $y$  is the deviation of an item in a series of index numbers from the mean of the

series. Table III gives the slopes for each series. A slope of  $+1.00$  would mean that from 1900 to 1927 that service had increased an average of one per cent a year, based upon the service in 1913 as 100 per cent. A slope of  $-1.00$  indicates a corresponding decrease in the service per year.

TABLE III  
SLOPES OF THE STRAIGHT LINE TRENDS FOR SPECIAL  
INDEX NUMBERS TAKEN FROM TABLE II

SERIES	SLOPE
Insane.....	$+ .88$
Young Defectives.....	$+1.20$
Dependent and Neglected Children.....	$- .82$
Old Soldiers.....	$-1.28$
Deaf.....	$- .65$
Blind.....	$-1.29$
State Prison.....	$+2.12$
State Reformatory.....	$+ .14$
Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home.....	$-3.19$
State Woman's Prison*.....	
State Boys' School.....	$-1.27$
Poor Asylums.....	$- .34$
Outdoor Relief.....	$+2.35$
Epileptics.....	$+11.88$
State Girls' School.....	$+ .01$
Tuberculosis Sanatorium.....	$+1.92$

\* The trend for the Woman's Prison was not computed, because it would give a false idea that the work of the Prison has been declining at a rapid rate. Prior to the year 1908 delinquent girls were housed in the Woman's Prison and were reported as inmates of that institution, but in 1908 the State Girl's School was opened, and the juvenile delinquents were removed from the Woman's Prison. Consequently, there is a sharp drop in the index of the Woman's Prison in that year due to the removal of these girls.

In most cases the cause of the direction of the trend is not known, but in a few series a possible explanation is known. The work done by the State Home for Soldiers is declining, because the veterans of the Civil War are dying off, and the veterans of the Spanish-American War are not sufficiently numerous to keep up the earlier population of the Home. The

School for the Deaf shows a negative trend, but it should not be concluded that the rate of deafness in the population is declining. Every year from 1900 to 1927 the School has been filled to capacity and sometimes it has been overcrowded, but little additional accommodations have been provided by the state. Consequently, since our indexes are corrected for population growth, a steady number of pupils would appear as a relative decline. The School for the Blind shows a negative trend also, and this may indicate that blindness among children is decreasing, because the School has never been filled to capacity. This fact exists in spite of the fact that all blind children are required to go to the School unless they are provided with individual instruction by the parents in accordance with approved methods of instruction. The negative trend of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home is probably a real decline. These children in the past have been the children of veterans of either the Civil War or the Spanish-American War, and the children of these veterans are rapidly growing to adulthood so that a decline would be expected. When children of veterans of the World War begin to become public charges on a larger scale, the index may rise. The negative trend of the Boys' School and the almost even trend of the Girls' School probably indicate the effects of the increasing use of probation for juvenile offenders. Poor asylums show a negative trend which is due, not necessarily to a decline in poverty, but to the development of specialized institutions for the care of the sick, the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded poor. Therefore, it may be said that a negative trend reflects either a decline in the demands for the service or a shift to some new and more specialized agency.

Explanations of the positive trends are



even less certain than they are for the negative trends. The amount of work done for the insane is increasing considerably, but it cannot be concluded that insanity is increasing. The change may be entirely due to enlarged hospitals which care for patients who formerly had to be kept at home or temporarily kept in poor asylums or even in jails. More accurate knowledge of the symptoms of mental disorders enables physicians to diagnose insanity better and so recommend hospitalization. Young mental defectives are not necessarily increasing relatively, but the facilities of the state for taking care of them are being enlarged. So the index is positive. The State Prison and the State Reformatory show positive trends, but to say on the basis of the index that felonies are increasing in Indiana would be unwarranted. They may be increasing, but the index simply indicates an increase in quantity of service rendered. Out door relief has a sharp positive trend. This is explainable as due to increasing poverty or to increasing freedom in the distribution of relief funds, but it would be impossible to determine the relative importance of these two possibilities. The increase in service to epileptics is accounted for almost entirely by the establishment and frequent expansion of the Colony for Epileptics. Additional buildings have made it possible to take epileptics out of the poor asylums, the hospitals for the insane, and the institutions for the feeble-minded, not to mention those who were formerly cared for at home. A similar explanation accounts in part for the positive trend of the Sanatorium for Tuberculosis. Therefore, all that we can say about positive trends is that they unquestionably represent greater activity on the part of the public to take care of the dependent, delinquent and handicapped and that there is a possibility that in some

instances there is an actual relative increase in the number of persons needing aid.

The General Index represents a combination of all the special series. As indicated in a preceding paragraph, it is an aggrega-

TABLE IV  
GENERAL INDEX NUMBERS FOR PUBLIC WELFARE WORK  
IN INDIANA, 1900 TO 1927

YEAR	INDEX
1900	88.9
1901	88.1
1902	88.7
1903	89.2
1904	92.9
1905	93.8
1906	94.9
1907	92.6
1908	95.5
1909	92.3
1910	95.3
1911	97.0
1912	99.2
1913	100.0
1914	101.0
1915	109.7
1916	109.3
1917	110.0
1918	99.9
1919	97.8
1920	94.7
1921	98.9
1922	102.7
1923	101.6
1924	106.7
1925	115.3
1926	118.0
1927	121.9

tive index. It is a composite of 18 series. The nineteenth series is outdoor relief. This series could not be included in the General Index, because the number of persons under care on a specified date, such as the last day of the fiscal year, is nowhere given in the reports.

Table IV gives the General Index for each year. The first sharp rise in the

General Index occurred in 1915. In that year there is a noticeable rise in the number of prisoners, and the State Farm for misdemeanants and the first of the General Hospitals were opened. These are the large elements in the rise of nearly nine per cent. The decline of ten per cent in 1918 is due to a falling off in attendance at the hospitals for the insane, at the Soldiers' Home, at the Reformatory, at the Woman's Prison, and at the State

rate of increase has tended to augment since 1920. The upward trend may simply represent a more active response on the part of the public to social problems in the state, or it may be considerably affected by the natural tendency of all institutions to expand. Furthermore, the amount of work done by private social agencies has increased markedly during the same period in Indiana. No account can be taken of these private agencies, because no central

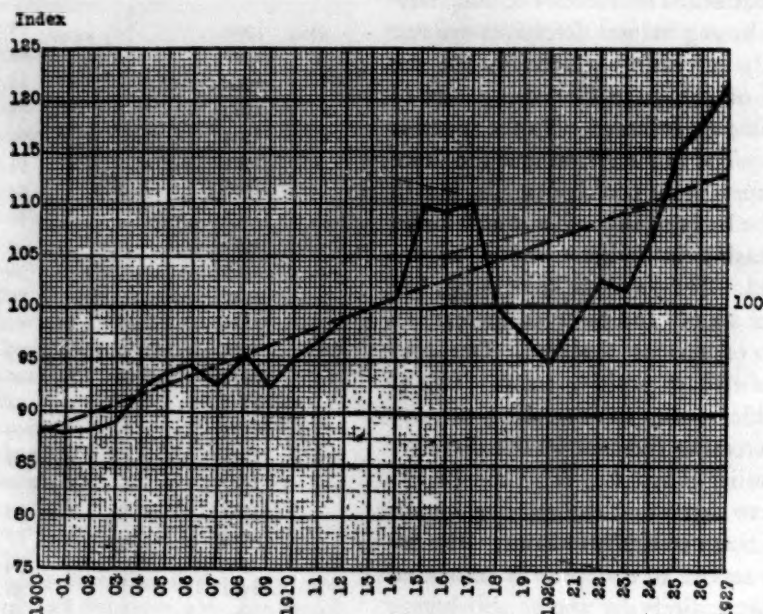


FIG. 1. GENERAL INDEX OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN INDIANA AND THE TREND LINE, 1900 TO 1927

Farm. The next high point is reached in 1925. In this year the prison population and the attendance at the General Hospitals rose sharply.

Figure 1 shows clearly the cyclical variations and the trend of public welfare work in Indiana.

The slope of the trend line is  $+ .91$ . There is no question but that the quantity of welfare work done in Indiana has been increasing during the last quarter of a century relative to population, and this

agency receives statistical reports from them. This fact simply complicates the question as to whether the proportion of the population in Indiana needing aid in 1927 is greater than it was in 1900. We only know that a greater proportion of the population is now receiving aid than received aid in 1900 from public agencies. The more important and the more difficult problem, that is, the determination of an index of social well-being, remains for further research.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

### RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA

B. B. MUKHERJEE

THAT organization, well planned and well conducted can perform wonders is exemplified by the success attained by the efforts of the Council of Rural Economy in Gurgaon, in the Punjab in British India. The District of Gurgaon is one of the most backward corners of the Punjab. The land is poor, at some places stony, while at others marshy or interspersed with low hills devoid of vegetation. Cultivation is rendered precarious by the extremely meagre and uncertain rain fall, but it must be said to the credit of the sturdy peasant that he has not given up the unequal fight with the forces of nature. Malaria and plague claim a heavy toll every year. Owing to the terror caused by a series of inroads from the northwest frontier during the Moghal rule, the villages were constructed on the plan of forts with the hamlets all huddled together, so as to be able to withstand the attacks of the invader by joint action. The result is that these insanitary houses are breeding places for disease of various types and it is no wonder that the mortality rate is very high. Illiteracy and improvidence are the two greatest evils of the farmer, and these are sapping the manhood of the District.

To such a district was sent eight years ago, a young and energetic officer, Mr. F.

L. Brayne of the Indian Civil Service, as Deputy Commissioner. Within a very short time Mr. Brayne found out that underneath the dead embers of the rural community the fire of life was yet smouldering. Crushed down by the rigid rules of caste and held fast in the iron grip of the money-lender, the cultivator was sinking gradually in the depths of poverty and misery, but hope, the main spring of activity, was not yet dead. The desire for better living yet remained and it required an external stimulus to bring it out.

It was felt that the programme of village uplift in order to be successful must be comprehensive, including in its scope improvement in the methods of farming, village sanitation, prevention of epidemics and the education of men and women. Village improvement could best be carried out by paid officials of the government who are new to the village but with the help of village leaders, trained in the work of village reconstruction. The first objective was the creation in the minds of the villager, of the desire to improve his moral and economic condition, then came the re-fashioning of the system of education so as to bring it into line with rural needs and rural surroundings. It was realized that progress could not be rapid unless a number of men could be trained to take the lead in the villages. To carry out



this object a School of Rural Economy was started which gave courses in practical agriculture, first aid, infant welfare, public health, village sanitation, stockbreeding, games and propaganda work. These teachers are the real missionaries of the movement and its success is largely dependent on their work. They live in the village and act as guides, philosophers and friends of the people.

Rural improvement has not been confined only to increasing the wealth of the district but it has attempted to transform the ideals and habits of the people. Forestation schemes have been promoted to clothe the barren hills. Canal irrigation has been pushed on with a view to increase the cultivation area and to neutralize the deficiency in the rainfall. Better types of bulls have been introduced for breeding work. The women have not been forgotten. Female education is fast progressing, and in a country where the Purdah is still powerful and no woman goes about unveiled, boys and girls are attending the same school. Infant welfare work is being organized by the School of Domestic Economy for Women, which is the creation of Mrs. Brayne, wife of the Deputy Commissioner, whose services to the cause of the uplift of the Indian women cannot be too highly praised. Women health visitors go to the villages and look after the newborn babies and their mothers. Trained nurses and midwives are also sent wherever necessary.

The work of propaganda is carried on by means of the publication of pamphlets, posters and pictures, while special slides for the magic lantern have been prepared to bring home to the villagers the benefits of reform. Singing parties, who tour in the district and sing songs describing the principles of coöperation and village improvement at village markets and fairs, by the fireside and in the homes of the

villagers, have been formed, while dramas are staged at village festivals. These are all calculated to expose the manifold defects of rural life and to suggest schemes of reform. Beside these, exhibitions and shows are held at various centers and prizes are given to the farmers for improved crops and improved cattle. The ploughing competition which is held along with these shows is unique in India.

The quantitative results of the work of the Gurgaon organization are very encouraging. There were no iron ploughs in use in this district in 1920 while in 1926 there were as many as 1600. During this period the area under improved wheat rose to 36,750 acres. In 1920 there were only 153 Coöperative Societies with a membership of 3303, working capital of Rs. 136,224 and owned capital of Rs. 14,064, while in 1926, the number of societies and membership increased by six times, and the working capital has risen by 20 times and owned capital by 28 times. Formerly the number of vaccinations against smallpox never exceeded 13,000 annually; now it is well over 42,500. In education, the progress has been still more remarkable. In 1920 there were 10,839 pupils in the schools, now there are 26,744; and the number of girls in boys' schools is 1334, a thing the most ardent social reformer of the last century could not dream of.

In the words of His Excellency Sir William Hailey, the Governor of the Punjab, "Gurgaon has been the pioneer in a movement which can at least claim the merit of making a direct attack on the problem of rural uplift. Its authors would be the first to admit that at the moment it is in the stage of experiment and has been able to touch certain aspects of village life; but this may be taken for certain—that it has already achieved valuable and encouraging results."

## THE LODGE IN A CHANGING URBAN COMMUNITY

ERLE FISKE YOUNG

WE CARRY with us a tendency to ally ourselves with those groups which build up among their members personal relationships. That this personal association is a dominant note in the fraternal orders of to-day is evidenced by the habit among the members of calling each other "brother." Mutual aid expresses itself continuously in the development of social institutions in voluntary fraternal organization. It is evident, however, that the fraternal orders of to-day differ somewhat from the old time neighborhood relationships. They are but quasi-neighborhood. There is to be seen considerable effort to meet on a basis akin to that of neighbors. For example, people from Iowa hunt out each other and meet, let us say, at Long Beach and become very neighborly, although in Iowa they may not have ever heard of each other. They are not neighbors but their relations feel very much like the old time neighborly associations. This getting into lodges is something of the same thing: persons in an urban environ-

ment feel the need of some of the old closer association. The mutual aid or social service, however, that is handled in the lodge is probably quite different in a large city environment from the closer relationship of a mutual aid society of, let us say, the Polish peasant.

We can assume that people are going to do this sort of thing for a long time to come. It is not unreasonable to say that in the formulation of social relationships the fraternal order or organization is sounder than philanthropic societies. In a sense it is much better that A and B decide what they are going to do for themselves than that C should decide what is best to be done for B. Attempts to set up neighborhood organization and coöperative enterprises should be supplemented by attempts to get men back into fraternal orders. The feeling of responsibility that a lodge develops in a man is part of his necessary personal development. It is a way of giving him status in his own community.

## FRATERNAL SOCIAL WORK AND ITS RELATION TO PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

MATTHEW P. ADAMS, EMMA C. PUSCHNER, AND PAULINE V. YOUNG

FROM THE FRATERNAL WORKER'S VIEWPOINT

MATTHEW P. ADAMS

THERE is an astonishing amount of *fraternal social work* being done at the present time. In those Masonic Homes for children and in those for the aged there are over 6,000 individuals, who cost the fraternity over three million dollars per year. Millions of dollars are invested in these State Homes. The

Shrine has approximately eight million dollars invested in hospitals for crippled children in different parts of the United States and Canada. These are maintained at a yearly expense of over a million dollars, raised by assessment of \$2.00 per member.

The Odd Fellows spend more than

three million dollars yearly in relief work for 6,000 individuals. The Loyal Order of Moose cares for approximately 3,000 children, and also their aged and infirm, in institutions and in their own homes, at an approximate cost of two million dollars per year. This organization has a capital investment of over five million dollars. The Yeomen are caring for about 300 children and are considering a national home for the aged in California. They spend a half million dollars yearly in relief. The American Legion has given service and assistance to more than 3,000 children yearly, most of whom are with their mothers or relatives, at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars. Untold sums of money and many thousands of people are cared for in part or whole by the various "Service Clubs," such as the Lions, Rotary, Kiwanis, Knights of the Round Table, and various Women's Clubs.

The large sums of money involved and, in particular, the great number of individuals whose life and happiness are affected by this social service, challenge the attention of all professional social workers. To understand why such large sums of money are expended and such immense numbers of individuals are receiving social service we must attempt to understand fraternal organizations themselves. Why do they exist? Why have they become interested in charitable work? What is the type of social work done by these fraternities and similar organizations? What is the present trend of their service? What should be the relationship of professional social workers to the social work of a fraternity?

#### THE BASIS OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

There are several distinct appeals in fraternities or lodges. Most of such organizations have initiations or degrees

which are based on historical pageants and ritualistic work. In some cases this has a distinctly intellectual appeal in that it applies the teachings of history to our present day life. Much of the pageantry and ritualistic work is taken from the Bible. The fraternity satisfies the individual's "feeling of kind," his desire to mingle socially with other individuals to whom he is known as "Brother." A large proportion of people are socially minded and experience a tense feeling of strain if they are left by themselves for more than a short period. Such have to be on the "go" most of the time. There must be a place to go to. While in these latter days the motion picture and the automobile have somewhat satisfied this desire, yet the fraternity "home" or lodge room is also helpful. The pageant and ritualistic degree work, always dramatic, arouses the emotions and satisfies the altruistic feelings in a stronger and more personal way than can be done at the theatre or during an outing in the auto.

There is a rather strong financial appeal to some to join a fraternity or lodge. Most lodges have group insurance and there are usually sickness and death benefits. More and more such organizations are caring for their aged and infirm as well as their child dependents. Some of these organizations require such a high fee for entrance that the very fact the person is a member gives him a certain financial and social prestige in the community. There is also a religious appeal in fraternities based on the ideal of brotherhood. This is so strong that almost every creed has its connecting fraternity or lodge.

The interest of fraternities in charitable work very naturally follows from the rituals of the older organizations which were taken primarily, in fact almost exclusively from the Bible, which empha-



sizes the brotherhood of man and the ideal of charity. From the very beginning the different lodges were interested in the care of the dependent children of their members and their aged and infirm lodge brothers.

There is another reason why the fraternal organizations have recently centered so much of their attention on social service work. It was early discovered that one of the greatest attractions in getting new members and in holding old ones was the social service of the fraternity. Most of these lodges and associations have professional "organizers" whose financial success depends on increased and continued memberships in the fraternity. A weak, dying organization can be rejuvenated and strengthened through the efforts of the organizers to make the social service work prominent.

#### SOCIAL WORK OF FRATERNITIES

What types of charitable work have the fraternities undertaken? In general it has been the care of orphans, the aged and infirm, and later the crippled. In the beginning these individuals were members of the fraternity or of the members' families. Recently, however, this has been broadened in some cases to include others who are not connected with the lodges at all. The development of social service work in the fraternities has been a gradual one, beginning with Masonic Homes, which at first were congregate in plan, and often had children and aged in the same building. They were organized on a state basis. Next, there was a gradual separation of children from the aged, as can be seen among all fraternal organizations to-day. These two types of institutions are often in widely separated cities.

A later trend among some of the fraternities is toward national children's

homes, rather than the state unit. This is seen in the national homes of the Moose and Yeoman, and in the sectional (larger than state) hospitals for crippled children of the Shrine. There has also been a tendency to take widows with their children to such institutions for dependent children. The cottage plan is generally used. There is, of course, the great disadvantage of centralized large groups coming from extended geographical areas. There are certain distinct advantages which come to fraternities from a large unit. A national home is something concrete and big. The member of a fraternal organization does not always visualize the large group of individuals who contribute to the cause. It is a wonderful illustration of how small contributions from a great group of people produce enormous sums of money. There is no question but what a large, up to date, modern home for dependent children, pulsating with the activity of a large group, does make an attractive picture and impresses one more than a small state home duplicated many times throughout the country. The large home serves as a shrine, and conventions and excursions are arranged so that members from all over the country may see these national homes.

The very latest phase in child care by fraternal organizations is seen in the placement of children in boarding homes, or keeping them in their own homes by means of a subsidy allowed the widowed mother. This is given sometimes in addition to local state or county "widow's pension" grants. This method was first used by the Moose and later by the Yeoman in addition to the care of their dependents and aged in separate national homes. The American Legion, which has no institutions practically, also uses this plan. In the Moose the subsidy for each

family is given on the recommendation and expended under the direction of a local committee consisting of the head of the local lodge, the family pastor, the school teacher or principal, and perhaps one or two others.

In attempting to figure out what may be the future social service development of fraternal organizations during the next generation or two, one can draw his conclusions only from the present tendencies as exemplified in the newer work of the fraternities. It would seem that such organizations will continue to care for the dependent and crippled children of their own members and perhaps others, as well as the aged and infirm among their members. The chances are that fraternities will continue to build State-wide organizations on the cottage plan and among them will be several fraternities who will continue and even start new national homes for their dependent children and separate ones for their aged and infirm. It seems to be a well recognized policy that where the children are admitted to such fraternal homes the widowed mothers will be admitted too. There also seems to be developing a most favorable attitude toward the "subsidy plan" of caring for children in their own homes. The fraternal organizations seem to be fully aware of the desirability of cottage rather than congregate buildings, and of the need of small groups in these cottages. This seems to be equally advantageous for the aged. A number of the fraternities feel that the institutions for the aged should be in the warmer climates, such as California or Florida.

It seems doubtful whether the state or national homes maintained by fraternal organizations will ever be abandoned and the placement of children in family homes be the main method of caring for the dependent little ones. The support for

such institutions comes in general from a two or three dollar yearly assessment. Members give this freely because they can visualize the state or national home, particularly as the benefits of this are brought to their attention in well printed, profusely illustrated magazines and booklets. It would naturally be found a much harder proposition to popularize boarding and home care in the same way. The test of one's willingness to go away from home to a state or national institution seems in the minds of many fraternalists to be a sure criterion of need—something akin to the old "work-house test."

#### RELATION OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS TO FRATERNAL SOCIAL SERVICE

The workers of fraternal and similar social organizations need a closer connection with professional social workers so that guidance by the latter may be more effective. Fraternal organizations should be encouraged to have their Boards (lay members) and their social workers attend conferences on social work (national and state) and other meetings in which the ideals, principles, and technique of social treatment are discussed and formulated. At a national conference groups from fraternal social service organizations should be represented in the "Kindred Group" or "Special Group" divisions, as it were foster children of the convention. Something along this line is being done by some of the Councils of Social Agencies. Unfortunately because such Councils necessarily are closely allied to their local Community Chests, of which fraternal agencies are *not* members, the connection is not as fruitful as one might hope.

Second, there should be leadership. Professional social workers should not be

satisfied with the mere guiding of the millions in fraternal and other similar organizations doing social work. There should be constructive, positive leadership by professional social workers to advance the type of work carried on by fraternal organizations into needed geographical areas and necessary fields of endeavor. This might even mean the broadening of service restrictions so that persons other than members and families might receive benefit.

Think of the man power represented in the fraternal organizations doing social

service work! Four million Masons, two million Odd Fellows, a million Elks, a million and half members of the American Legion, nearly a million Moose, and several million members of various service Clubs. Without doubt there are twenty odd million or more fraternalists in the United States who have a part, immediate or remote, in social service work. There is a crying need for active, professional leadership. This group is yearning to do things for the welfare of others. Advantage should be taken of the present, potential, man and financial power.

#### FRATERNAL SOCIAL WORK AND ITS RELATION TO PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORK

EMMA C. PUSCHNER

This subject is not only interesting but it offers opportunity for consideration of the importance and the means of coöperative relationship between fraternal orders and professional or expert social service. It is much more serious than most social workers seem to suspect. There is a growing tendency on the part of individuals to satisfy that urge within to contribute of their personal time, interest, and money for the good of humanity. At first this urge manifested itself mostly within the church groups, then it extended to civic club groups and fraternal organizations, and gradually it has become a part of the existence of practically every group of individuals that join together in a common cause.

It is interesting to analyze the various possibilities of social service in fraternal orders and to contemplate the meaning of this tendency to established social service standards such as are recognized by those who consider social work a profession and encourage training and experience of a high standard in dealing with human relationships. When first the profes-

sional group became interested in what was being undertaken by civic and fraternal groups along social service lines, most of us considered it as rather a small wing or supplement of community service, and many social workers still make the mistake of maintaining a patronizing attitude to the service that comes from these "outside" groups.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE COORDINATING EFFORTS

Fortunately the Child Welfare League of America took a serious and interested attitude in the matter and for a period of years definitely assigned to a member of its staff the study and consideration of the subject, and those who are working now with a volunteer civic or fraternal organization are appreciative of the helpfulness of the League and the service it extended through Mr. C. W. Areson.

The American Legion had the vision to take into the service of the organization a trained and experienced social worker to develop its fine National Child Welfare Program. It was the first such group to do that, and this was important from the



standpoint of established social service and also from the standpoint of setting a standard and precedent for similar groups.

The American Legion through its National leaders was drawn into a program that set as fundamentals: (1) Cooperation with all established social service agencies; (2) avoidance of duplication of efforts and expenditure of funds; (3) strengthening State and community service and refusal to set up facilities of its own for the care of families and children, but instead assisting in an educational and legislative way to improve and increase proper facilities for child care locally; (4) only supplementing temporary material relief when local facilities are not available or are thoroughly inadequate.

This is indeed a worthy, constructive program. It is promoting interest not only within the organization of the American Legion, but it is affecting every community, because there is no community in this country where there is no local Legion Organization, and that means direct contact everywhere.

There are two kinds of social workers,—those who are serving in the spirit of true community service and have the ability to approach human beings with understanding, and the social work snobs to whom every family or child is just another case and to whom any volunteer who fails to have had the accepted social service training and experience is just a burdensome person who may have to be tolerated to the degree in which that person may have prestige and influence, financially or otherwise, in the community.

In any profession those who fail in their personal contacts and in the administration of treatment and relief, are the ones remembered more often and referred to in the discussion of the advisability of

trained and experienced personnel with a lay group or individual. It is because of that tendency that when any trained and experienced social worker accepts a call into such an unique service as I have had the privilege of carrying on, that he is "under observation" for a considerable time. When the organization finds that a trained and experienced social worker is not altogether a freak and has consideration for the thinking and leadership of someone else besides social workers, then the organization is most appreciative of the service of a trained worker and does everything within its power to maintain the dignity and prestige of high standards. Such a group then becomes the strongest advocate of trained and experienced social work personnel! Support of this kind is important for the social work profession.

When a civic or fraternal organization has on its staff a trained and experienced social worker, that worker becomes a liaison between the organization and all the other social work agencies. That worker interprets to the other groups the program and policies of the organization and develops a cooperative relationship with these other agencies. When civic and fraternal organizations fail to have on the staff a trained and experienced social worker, then it is advisable for the social work agencies to have a representative of their groups make contacts with these other organizations and interpret to them their programs and policies and ascertain the program and policies of the community organizations so "contacted." With this development, in time a mutually helpful relationship will come and the "buck passing" attitude between the groups be eliminated. Some of the present tendency on the part of the social work agencies through representatives to pass on to the volunteer groups the job of "material

relief giving" is decidedly bad from the standpoint of constructive social service and is weakening to our professional well being. This emphasizes the importance of developing the proper relationship between the groups. We of the American Legion are teaching within our organization the importance of rendering constructive service to families and individuals; the importance of cooperation and conference with the established social agencies in a community; the importance of trained and experienced personnel in advising human beings faced with all forms of social handicap.

#### RELATIONSHIPS DEFINED

The kind of cooperation that is most effective on the part of the established social agencies in their relationship with the volunteer groups is to gain the respect and confidence of such groups and finally in every community to have those groups aid in strengthening the facilities of the local social service agencies. By enlisting their interest and having them as members of local boards and committees through

which the established social agencies promote their organization needs, there will be developed increased good will, increased financial aid, increased influence and general helpfulness on the part of these large and generous-hearted volunteer groups. Constructive community service is thus coordinated and strengthened.

All such volunteer groups should be discouraged in undertaking to create separate national and community facilities for family or child care. They should be encouraged in joining with the best service to the community and state and in coordinating their programs to meet the local needs.

The relationships, therefore, should be one of mutual helpfulness,—the volunteer groups to work with the established social work agencies and aid in improving public and private welfare facilities, and the social work agencies to accept these interested volunteer groups into an understanding relationship that will strengthen the confidence of the lay group in the service of trained and experienced personnel.

#### THE FRATERNAL ORDER AND SOCIAL WORK: CRITICISM FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE COMMUNITY

PAULINE V. YOUNG

It shows vision that is to be complimented for any fraternal order, such as The American Legion, to take into its service for the direction of its welfare work a trained social worker. The Legion has pointed the way for other fraternal orders in abstaining from a complete "set-up" of its own, since there are numerous child welfare organizations throughout the country which can and do supply them with such resources as they may need, including institutional care, diagnostic clinics, expert professional

advice, schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, etc. Thus the American Legion with numerous resources at its command becomes an organizing and coordinating agency in the field of child welfare rather than a duplicating agency. In the several years of their experiment they have proven their success and demonstrated the possibilities of harmonious working together with the established social service agencies and have strikingly avoided duplication of effort, expenditure of large sums of money for separate

institutions, and have promoted an educational and legislative program which renders greater aid to local child-caring agencies. One wonders why other benevolent and fraternal organizations have not profited more by the Legion's experiment and success.

Fraternal organizations may be looked upon as mutual aid groups. From a social, historical, psychological and sociological point of view they are different from social work agencies. They are perhaps best described as quasi-primary groups. Professor Cooley says that a primary group is a face-to-face association where the relationships of members are warm, intimate, personal. But the primary group is tending to disappear from our modern American life. The members of a fraternal organization have a common tradition, a strong ritual bond which combines them and reunites them anew every time they meet, but they do not know each other in the manner of the real primary group. They fall back on symbols, characteristic marks of distinction, handshakes, passwords, etc. The intimate life of their members is known as best only by a few.

There are undoubtedly members in all fraternal organizations whose social security is not cared for by the group. Fraternal organizations pride themselves on the fact that as long as their members are in good standing in the organization they will not have to appeal to charities. It is becoming increasingly evident that the fraternal organizations are facing a tremendous problem, and that is not the problem of child caring but that of old age which is becoming increasingly serious as the mobility of American life increases, as modern industries throw out older people in larger and larger numbers and substitute young, energetic people, as the modern family progressively breaks down

as a protective unit. The old age problem is growing upon us with greater rapidity than the child problem ever evidenced. The younger members are not inclined to join the older fraternal orders in large numbers (with the possible exception of the Masonic order). The older fraternal orders are not replenished by younger energies and wealth. The proportion of older members is growing and the costs are also growing. Both the fraternal organizations and social agencies see this increasing problem and in their dilemma one looks to the other to solve the difficulty.

Social workers look perhaps too much toward fraternal organizations to solve certain social problems. A few days ago I received a representative letter from a fraternal organization in a large middle western city saying: "We are another one of those struggling lodges who at best can help out with a sickness benefit at present but must delay permanent placement of Mr. X in one of our homes for the aged." Oftentimes aged members wait six, eight, and ten months before they are admitted into the fraternal home for the aged and incapacitated.

Miss Puschner's paper suggests a scheme which can perhaps be promoted in every new organization where definite service policies have not yet developed. But what about the old organizations whose investments have been made, personnel set up, policies put in operation, which have long tradition of independent work behind them, and perhaps most seriously of all the organizations which do not take kindly to suggestions from outsiders?

Social workers are inclined to look upon lodges, fraternal and benevolent organizations of all kinds, as resources for their agency. The question among social workers frequently asked is, "Is the lodge



doing its duty in this case?" Oh the other hand the lodges have already discovered that social work agencies might help them and serve their members and they want to know if the local social worker is doing her duty by their members. In some instances this is perhaps the only thing the Lodge can do for a member. If the Lodge finds out that one of their members receive any financial aid from a local, private or public agency they cut the family's allowance and only supplement their income. I know of a family in Los Angeles whose allowance by the Lodge is lower than the standard budget the C. O. R. calls for, yet when one member of that family was removed to the county infirmary the Lodge cut the allowance in half. The Lodge undoubtedly assumes this attitude because its resources are not adequate to meet the demands and needs of its members.

The problem is too large for a Lodge to face. There are natural limits to which a Lodge can tax itself. Mr. Adams has very significant figures on this point. There are 800,000 members in the Moose who must bear the burden of \$2,000,000 yearly for 3,000 dependent members. The Moose is not a wealthy fraternal

organization, and relatively few young members are added. It becomes evident why lodges must resort to delays, waiting lists, and in some cases to the county infirmary. Some may say that the Lodges assume a great deal of unnecessary expense for entertainments, building, regalia, etc., but we must remember that mutual aid is not the only purpose and obligation of a fraternal organization, that security is not the only motive the members have in mind when joining. Mr. Adams has admirably pointed out the multiplicity of functions the fraternal organization assumes. The social worker may perhaps best see the fraternal organization as a creator of public opinion. The California Old Age pension had a large boost through fraternal organizations. Social work is exceedingly expensive and funds are often hard to secure, and of necessity both fraternal and social agencies look upon each other as resources to be employed in their work, and means to be utilized for the benefit of their clients or members. Cooperation apparently means the same to fraternal organizations as to social workers: that is induce the other to do what you want done and find someone else to pay the bill.

### TURNOVER OF CASE WORKERS

The results of a study of the turnover of case workers in family welfare agencies during 1927 and 1928 made by the Personnel Problems Committee of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work have been published in *The Family* for October, 1929. No worker whose period of service was less than a year was considered. The data show an annual loss of case workers at 35 per cent which, as the report states, "is particularly significant in view of the importance of staff workers of the family agency." Of particular interest and value are the comparative reports given by the workers and the agencies in the case of 312 resignations. The Committee's recommendations are appended. Reprints, of the report, may be secured from the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, 130 East 22d Street, New York City.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, program and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### CONCERNING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND THE CULTURAL

BERNHARD J. STERN

THE distinction between the social and the cultural is predicated on the distinction between the organic and superorganic, the biological and the cultural. It implies acknowledgment of the premise that there is a sharp and distinct cleavage between the mechanisms of biological inheritance that perpetuate the physiological characteristics of the human species and the factors that underlie cultural change. Culture, it holds to be traditionally accumulative, independent of change in biologically inherited traits, acquired anew in its changing manifestations by each succeeding generation. Individuals, born into a cultural as well as a physiographic environment, are thought to possess at birth, the same physiological characteristics, unique to *Homo Sapiens*, as has the human species for centuries. Differences in the behavior of persons in various historical periods and contemporary varied culture areas, are ascribed to the conditioning of culture at that time and place. Culture is believed to have its own processes and mechanism of change and interrelation of traits, which can be studied and which will eventually be formulated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The recognition of culture as an objective entity is anticipated with varying degrees of emphasis,

The failure to distinguish between the biological and the cultural which led Lewis Henry Morgan to maintain that "the custom of saluting by kin, the usage of wearing the breech-cloth and the usage of sleeping at night in a state of nudity, each person in a separate cover" were "transmitted with the blood"<sup>2</sup> and Max Mueller to declare that language arose from a certain number of phonetic types "which had been implanted in the human mind by the hand of God"<sup>3</sup> is still widespread today. Social scientists no longer argue about the question which once aroused much controversy, as to whether

clarity and consistency in the concept of "achievement" of Lester Ward, in the "mores" of Sumner, in W. I. Thomas' essay on "The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races" and among European writers in the "collective representations" of Durkheim and in the writings of Vierkandt. It is implicit in the works of the "historical materialists" following Marx. The recent formulation of the subject is due to the work of Kroeber in America and Rivers in England, elaborated upon and brought to the attention of American sociologists principally through the agency of W. F. Ogburn's *Social Change*, Clark Wissler's *Man and Culture*, R. H. Lowie's *Culture and Ethnology*, and M. M. Willey and M. J. Herskovits, "The Cultural Approach to Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, xxix, 189-199.

<sup>2</sup> *Systems of Consanguinity*, pp. 274-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures in the Science of Language*, pp. 427 sq.

deaf-mutes have any inborn notions of theology<sup>4</sup> but much of the eugenic literature is not far removed from this discussion. Witness the following typical confusion of the biological and cultural extracted from a widely circulated volume on eugenics.

"Our main conclusion is that if we would save the world from calamity, we must not merely *teach* people religion and common sense, we must begin at once to *produce* people possessing those qualities by inheritance. . . . the only road lies along the path of biological wisdom. The intellectual, the imaginative, creative, and artistic faculties of the mind must be biologically combined with the faculties which insure survival. They must blend harmoniously with the practical ability which makes people able wisely to manage their own affairs and above all with an innate religious and moral tendency which causes people to reverence one another and respect the rules of conduct which have been laid down by the accumulated wisdom of the ages."<sup>5</sup>

The same fallacy is found in the writings of many biologists too critical to accept the eugenists' creed. The late Professor Bateson once declared that "superstition is due to a specific ingredient in the germ cell."<sup>6</sup> Goldenweiser lapses into the prevalent confusion when he interrupts a discussion of the nature of civilization to write:

"The talent of an Edison is a congenital gift. Even though born in early pre-history he would have been an Edison, but he could not have invented the incandescent lamp. Instead, he might have originated one of the early methods of making fire. Raphael, if brought to life in a Bushman family, would have drawn curiously realistic cattle on the walls of caves as well as steatopygous Bushman women. Had Beethoven been a Chinaman, he would have composed some of those delightfully cacophonous melodies which the seeker for the

quaint and unusual pretends to enjoy in Chinatown."<sup>7</sup>

This quotation reflects a common belief in talent which implies an organic propensity for a cultural institution. But can a culture trait be anticipated in the germ plasm of a species that attained its physiological attributes prior to the existence of that culture? Does not the infant organism respond to cultural institutions only as a combination of wave lengths of physical energy and is not meaning derived only through the cultural setting? To consider only one of Goldenweiser's examples, there is certainly a great disparity between the stimuli playing upon the individual from fire and from an incandescent lamp, arousing different physiological responses. Fire and an incandescent lamp are culturally, and only remotely physiologically, related; neither is organically anticipated. For while culture is limited by the ability of the organism to respond to it, no cultural institution can be considered organically anticipated.<sup>8</sup>

Discussion of the objective reality of

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Goldenweiser *Early Civilization*, pp. 18-19. On the other hand see his statement: "Those who insist on the social being a phenomenon *sui generis* and on culture being in its nature historical, base their opinion on a real fact. While the content of culture, in so far as it counts, lies in the psychological level and can only be understood and interpreted through the attitudes and tendencies in that level, it cannot be derived from it nor from the attitudes and tendencies embedded in it. A psychological interpretation of a culture can explain its content (explanation here standing for interpretive description) but it cannot account for it. This is a corollary of the fact that the cultural content is an heritage of the past and that it is cumulative. This cumulation is an historical and objective phenomenon." "History, Psychology and Culture" *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and the Scientific Method*, XV, 566 n.b.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. C. M. Child *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*; L. L. Bernard *Instinct*.

<sup>4</sup> J. Kerr Love, *Deaf-mutism*, pp. 259 sq. Cited by R. Briffault, *Mothers*, I, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Ellsworth Huntington and Leon F. Whitney *The Builders of America*, pp. 271-2.

<sup>6</sup> William Bateson, *Methods and Scope of Genetics*, p. 34.



culture has hitherto centered around the fact that it is distinct from individual behavior. The treatment is often ambiguous, however, because cultural behavior is improperly designated by the term social. For the sake of clarity, the two concepts, social and cultural, must be rigidly distinguished and their meanings sharply defined.<sup>9</sup>

## II

Social life precedes culture and is distinct from it. Anecdotal anthropomorphisms still persist in ascribing to the lower animals, especially to the social insects, cultural behavior. However, although great plasticity and adaptability

\*It is frequently maintained that "scientific progress will not be made by mere voting about words." Science is of course, not a mere matter of lexicography; the scholastics excelled in definition. But certainly sociology has suffered as a science because of the lack of precision of its fundamental concepts due to the ambiguity of its word meanings. Most of the terminology of sociology has been taken over directly from the vernacular. No science has had greater difficulty in coining new symbols to indicate with increasing exactitude its accumulative control over its subject matter. In view of the difficulty of creating new words, it becomes necessary for sociologists to become exegetes of meanings of old words, to defy customary associations which have become attached to terms and to insist on rigid exclusive connotations. Unfortunately, this often casts the sociologist into the rôle of an extreme literalist, a scholiast who seems merely to manipulate word masks to hide insufficient evidence. Upton Sinclair was but manifesting the impatience of the non-academic world at this procedure when he declared sociology to be "an elaborate structure of classifications, wholly artificial, devised by learned gentlemen in search of something to be learned about." Yet in science, symbols must have exact significance to have value; it remains for sociologists to devise a method whereby standard symbols can be agreed upon that the energies devoted to wrangling over meanings may be devoted to more fruitful channels. Until then, one must risk the accusation that he is engaging in casuistry and "word-polishing" when he insists on distinctions which he considers pertinent.

of animal behavior to physical environmental stimuli are now recognized, dispelling the erroneous belief that animal behavior is rigidly predetermined by "instinct," careful investigators are generally agreed that the social activities of insects and other living sub-human social animals are derived through heredity. Professor Wheeler, who examined ants preserved in Baltic amber of the Lower Oligocene period of from fifty to seventy-five million years ago, declares that the evidence shows conclusively that: "ants . . . had at that time developed all their various castes just as we see them today, that the larvae and pupae were the same, that they attended plant lice, kept guest beetles in their nests and had parasitic mites attached to their legs in the same peculiar position as our living species. . . ." <sup>10</sup>

Kroeber, cognizant of this evidence and its significance, asserts:

"Social the ant is, in the sense that she associates; but she is so far from being social in the sense of possessing civilization, of being influenced by non-organic forces, that she would better be known as the anti-social animal." <sup>11</sup>

The use here of the word *social* with dual meaning obscures the important distinction which Kroeber is making. All the mechanisms of social behavior are present in the social insects and other sub-human species without culture being present. Conflict and accommodation, leadership, rivalry, subordination, control, cooperation, parasitism and other aspects of social life are manifested among them as among

<sup>10</sup> Wm. Morton Wheeler "Social Life of Insects" *Scientific Monthly*, XIV, 497-524. See also *Ants; their Structure, Development and Behavior; the Social Insects*; and the notes to his translation of Reaumur's *Natural History of Ants*; Auguste Forel, *The Social World of the Ants*.

<sup>11</sup> A. L. Kroeber, "The Superorganic," *American Anthropologist*, XIX, 176-7.

men. (The processes underlying the social behavior of men remain hereditary but associative patterns are modified by cultural stimuli. (The use of the term *social* should be confined to these processes) For, when it is used to embrace not only the processes, but the cultural pattern which acts as a stimulus as well, there is a slurring of the important rôle that culture plays independently of social processes, and an obscuring of the changes that occur within culture.

The cultural life of man as distinguished from the social life of sub-human groups is dependent on articulate language.<sup>12</sup> Animals not possessing articulate language manifest all the social processes observable in human society, indicating that it is not indispensable to social life. Once present, however, it accelerates and heightens communication which facilitates individual and group interrelations. Substituting sign words for highly complex images or association of images, speech enormously facilitates the formation of those associations which are the basis of cultural life. The most important influence of language on social life is derived through its making possible the accumulation and transmission of culture. Recent studies of sub-human animals, especially of anthropoid apes, reveal the

presence of many factors upon which culture depends, learning, inventiveness, memory, even the beginnings of symbolic abstraction.<sup>13</sup> But the absence of an articulate language prevents cultural life in the sense possessed by men. Articulate language alone offers sufficient symbolic abstraction to permit conceptual projection beyond individual experience and substitution of symbol for behavior making possible the accumulative retention, transmission, and diffusion of culture. With the inception of culture, human behavior responds to artificial, external patterns; social behavior becomes culturally modified and variable.

Cultural phenomena do, therefore, not create man's social behavior but presuppose man's organic potentialities for social life. Social life is a *sine qua non* for cultural development and transmission. But culture traits once established have their own history and causal relations apart from the individuals or groups that initiate and perpetuate them. These culture traits afford factors additional to the physical environment, which modify the original functioning of the mechanisms of individual and group interrelations by establishing diverse patterns. Forms of social organization are imposed upon a human community by culture and not by

<sup>12</sup> Articulate language has its antecedents in the emotional cries and calls of the sub-human species. Learned recognized thirty-two sounds or elements of speech among the anthropoid apes relating to food, drink and other animals and persons. R. M. Yerkes, *Almost Human*, p. 137 sq. But there is a vast development in language from these rudimentary beginnings to flexible human speech. As Professor Boas writes: "Although means of communication by sound exist in animals, and even though lower animals seem to have means of bringing about co-operation between different individuals, we do not know of any case of true articulate language from which the student can abstract principles of classification of ideas." Franz Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> W. Koehler, *Mentality of the Apes*; R. M. Yerkes and M. S. Child, "Anthropoid Behavior," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, II, 33-57; R. M. Yerkes "The Mind of a Gorilla" *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Clark University; P. M. Descamps "Les différences sociologiques entre les sauvages et les anthropoïdes," *L'Antropologie*, XXX, 137-147; A. L. Kroeber "Sub-human Culture Beginnings," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, III, 325-342. That the significance of this material is yet not fully grasped is seen by the fact that a writer of the standing of Griffith Taylor can still write: "The chief difference between man and the lower animals is in the development of the reasoning faculties." *Environment and Race*, p. 40.

nature.<sup>14</sup> The mating, rutting, and spawning of sub-human animal species, with the ape perhaps excepted<sup>15</sup> is purely physiological pattern behavior; there are fixed seasons for sexual activity and inactivity, fixed forms of sex association. For man, a culture pattern enters and restrains, inhibits and conditions the forms of mating by a variable artificial set of conditions. Among some of the lower animals there are well defined divisions of labor which are organically determined although they are adaptable to varying physiographic conditions. In human communities, division of labor is variable according to the culture pattern. When sub-human animal and human associations appear analogous, upon investigation it is seen that they are so only in their superficial external manifestations. Man's social behavior is always conditioned by the additional factors imposed by culture in its material and non-material manifestations, with its artificial taboos, historically derived restraints and sanctions. These factors are cultural products as distinct from social processes. They impinge on and determine the social behavior of their possessors but they are independent of any group or any individual. External to psychological "aptitudes" and physiological equipment, they have objective reality; they have their own geographic distribution and diffusion history which may be studied without regard to the organic characteristics of those whose behavior they affect.

<sup>14</sup> See especially the discussion of this point by B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, pp. 190-191. Cf. John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, pp. 58-9.

<sup>15</sup> G. S. Miller, "Some Elements in the Sexual Behavior in Primates and Their Possible Influence on the Beginnings of Human Social Development," *Journal of Mammalogy*, IX, 273-293.

### III

A further need for a precise distinction between the social and the cultural arises from the fact that a specific culture trait is not always correlated with the same social behavior. The elements of culture cannot be conceived of as static standardized products but must be thought of as fluctuating variable forms. When a culture trait diffuses, its meaning may be modified although it retains a similar external form, and in its new meaning acts as a stimulus for different social behavior. Ruth Benedict found that the vision-guardian spirit concept had associated itself with puberty ceremonies in one region, with totemism in another, in a third with secret societies, in a fourth with inherited rank, in a fifth with black magic.<sup>16</sup> There is great external similarity of detail in the Navajo and Hopi ceremonies that indicates extensive borrowing, but among the former, the ceremonies are focused on the healing of the sick and among the latter are directed on the production of fertility for the fields.<sup>17</sup> Spier found that the sun dance had a variety of meanings among the different tribes of the Plains; it was undertaken to purchase the right of the sacred bundle, it was a tribal seasonal ceremony, it was performed in fulfilment of a vow in time of distress.<sup>18</sup> Examples could be multiplied indicating the changes in meaning and hence in provoked social response of culture traits and complexes in different historical situations and in different areas during the process of diffusion.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, p. 84.

<sup>17</sup> H. K. Haeberlin, *The Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians*, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Leslie Spier, *The Plains Indian Sun Dance*, *passim*. For his conclusions see pp. 520-522.

<sup>19</sup> Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, pp. 131-163.



These changes have often been vaguely ascribed to the psychology of the different peoples possessing the culture trait, but this must be finally resolved into the effect of cultural conditioning. The culture pattern standardizes social behavior which then acts as a selective factor for the rejection or adaptation of new cultural elements. There is no specific form of social behavior which is "inherent in the nature of" any human group. Its social behavior at any time is determined by the culture pattern then prevailing, not by any postulated racial or group psychological variations. The proof lies in the evidence of extreme modifiability of all races and groups under diverse cultural stimuli. Each race or group is the potential basis of many diverse cultures.

## IV

It is often assumed that if one goes back far enough in culture history, he must eventually find the source of culture in the physiological equipment of man.<sup>20</sup> Those who speak in terms of "basic needs," "basic instincts," "drives" and "tend-

<sup>20</sup> Wissler states that he is "frankly puzzled" at this problem and then falls back on Woodworth's "drives" and "a functional pattern for inborn human behavior" to explain the universal culture pattern, begging the question by asserting "it seems reasonable to suppose that what all men have in common is inherited. Hence in so far as their behavior is uniform, we may expect it to be grounded in original nature." He recognizes the weakness of this position when he asserts: "... we cannot adequately define, least of all visualize the universal (native) pattern. The categories and other terms of classification, we used in Part II (where the form and content of culture are discussed B. J. S.) are expressed in terms of culture data, whereas the universal pattern is something of another order, to be defined, if at all, in terms adequate to the expression of biological relations. Hence it should not be assumed that the facts of culture are inherited, or that the categories we used when considering culture objectively, are themselves integral parts of the germ plasm." *Man and Culture*, pp. 260-280.

encies" postulate them, not merely as functioning within the pattern of culture but as being the prime causes of culture. It is simple to indicate that the existence of a "need" or "drive" does not imply its gratification and hence the concept of physiological propulsion is not a satisfactory explanation of cultural origins. For this reason also, the postulated "psychic unity" of the human species, leading to like social behavior, if unmodified by cultural stimuli, may be granted without considering it the "cause" of the universal culture pattern.<sup>21</sup> It must be recognized that the fossil precursors of man, from whom *Homo Sapiens* was a biological variant, already had a culture, and that probably human behavior was culturally conditioned from the very start. If the monogenic origin of the human species is held, the universality of the pattern of culture may be explained by the assumption that as man migrated in early quarternary times, he carried his then existing culture with him. Upon this basic culture pattern, accretions were made and differentiations took place, leading to the diversity of the Old World and American culture patterns, and further variations within these two large areas due to both independent invention and diffusion.<sup>22</sup> If these hypotheses are cor-

<sup>21</sup> Bastian conceived of universal "elemental ideas" which were tendencies and potentialities in the human species, which anticipated but only found expression in the form of "folk ideas," but he does not explain how. Goldenweiser writes of Bastian: "To him original nature comprised much more in absorptive power and creativeness than do the denuded psyches of Watson's infants or those of the half-witted morons postulated by the diffusionists" but grants that clarity was not one of Bastian's virtues. "Anthropology and Psychology" in W. F. Ogburn and A. Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations*, p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Franz Boas, "America and the Old World," *XXIe Congrès International des Américanistes*, pp. 22-28; also "Migrations of Asiatic Races and Cul-

rect, man's social behavior was culturally modified from his appearance on earth, and culture had pre-human origins.<sup>23</sup>

### V

To state that culture had existential reality independent of, although always found in conjunction with, the social aggregation of individuals who respond to and modify its ever changing patterns, posits psychological mechanisms underlying social behavior and does not ignore them as has already been indicated.<sup>24</sup> The tendency has been, however, for sociologists to think less frequently of culture than of the associations of individuals that carry culture, the social processes underlying those associations and the psychic experiences of individuals conveying culture. Because the term social is used for both the processes underlying and the content comprising

culture, cultural elements are often regarded as mere aggregations of psychic phenomena rather than superorganic determinants of associative patterns. This criticism may be especially leveled at the sociologists following Simmel who conceive sociology to be exclusively a science of the "forms of socialization" or the "forms of human relationship." Originally acknowledging the importance of "content" but ruling it out of the province of sociology, many of these sociologists later attempted to reduce all cultural phenomena to social processes. But to avoid Procrustean disposal of ill digested cultural data into preconceived social psychological categories, one must first study the cultural factors that determine the functioning of the social psychological processes. In the words of Rivers: "Confusion reigns in the sociology of today through the attempt to formulate the psychological explanations of social (the context indicates that the word "social" is here used in the sense of the cultural B. J. S.) phenomena before we have determined the course of the historical development of the phenomena with which we have to do."<sup>25</sup> He later illustrated his contention by his critical analysis of Westermarck's misinterpretation of the blood-feud.<sup>26</sup> The most vivid corroboration of the value of distinguishing between the cultural and the social and of the need of studying the cultural before making social psychological generalizations is the recent work of Malinowski.<sup>27</sup> By revealing how the "family complex" or "nuclear complex" varies with the distribution of authority in the family and the different modes of counting

tures to North America," *Scientific Monthly*, XXVIII, 110-117.

<sup>23</sup> It is recognized that this merely shifts the problem of cultural origins to pre-human groups. That this is what must be done is indicated in the previous references to anthropoid behavior. See especially A. L. Kroeber, "Sub-Human Culture Beginnings," *Quarterly Journal of Biology*, III., 325-342.

<sup>24</sup> Critics often charge those who lay emphasis on cultural objectivism with neglecting the psychological factors involved in cultural transmission and in individual and group interrelations. The charge is hardly justified. With the exception of the work of Graebner and of the extreme diffusionists such as G. Elliot Smith, whose work is not given credence by any critical anthropologists (See the *Diffusion Controversy*, Smith and others), the importance of the psychological is repeatedly stressed. Cf. Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*; and *Anthropology and Modern Life*, pp. 131-163; Robert H. Lowie, "Psychology and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI, 217-229; W. H. R. Rivers, "Sociology and Psychology," *Sociological Review*, IX, 1-13; A. L. Kroeber, "The Possibility of a Social Psychology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII, 633-650.

<sup>25</sup> "Survival in Sociology," *Sociological Review*, VI, 293-305.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* Vol. IX, 2.

<sup>27</sup> B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*.

kinship, he has been able to prove the untenability of the Freudian view of the universality of the Oedipus complex.

The recognition of the objective reality of culture and the understanding of the distinction between the cultural and the

social are fundamental to a precise formulation of the problems of sociological research. Revisions of social psychological categories will probably ensue when these discriminations are more generally accepted as basic.

## CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIFE HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WESTERN LUMBERJACK

ROBERT MARSHALL

For it is the nature of man, to the extreme prejudice of knowledge, to delight in the spacious liberty of generalities, and not in the inclosures of particularity.—FRANCIS BACON.

### I

IF THE social sciences are ever to justify such a dignified appellation they will have to submit to the same quantitative treatment which the more advanced physical sciences have long recognized as prerequisite. For entirely too long a time we have been in the habit of recounting individual conduct by a broad barrage of meaningless approximations instead of utilizing the specific methods of biometry. From the Malay Archipelago to the Court of St. James, we derive our knowledge of the deportment and colloquy of humanity not from the exact data of systematic investigation, but from the ambiguous generalities of superficial impression. Historically it is impossible to draw representative pictures of past demeanor from such misleading evidence. Coevally the situation is only improved within the narrow orbit of personal acquaintance. Otherwise we still found our conception of the *mores* of the majority of mankind on the casual basis of shallow and often prejudiced assertion.

The more unusual or picturesque the *mores* are, the more essential it is that we

forsake this almost universal subjective approach and adopt the modern scientific manner, because extraordinary customs are the ones most likely to be grossly exaggerated when reported in words, so that merely the oddest features are retained. Consequently the picture which is handed down to posterity is a crude caricature entirely devoid of honesty. The only way to overcome this deplorable result is to record the customs in a concise, objective fashion.

Perhaps no body of Americans have ever been described more picturesquely and less definitely than the lumberjacks. This is partly because of the great romance naturally inherent in the woodsman's dangerous and severe profession, and partly because his habitat is so remote from that of the average citizen. Few qualities are less conducive to accuracy than romance and remoteness, and thus there have been woven about the lumberjack a great many fabulous fancies which have gone very well as poetry, but have scarcely even approximated the truth. To remedy this defect in our comprehension of a unique participant in the American civilization I have undertaken a quantitative study destined to chronicle certain of the more outstanding social peculiarities of the Northwestern lumberjack. The traits which I have chosen for mathematical analysis are: (1) the lumberjack's



speed in eating; (2) his table manners; (3) the subjects of his conversation; (4) his use of profane and libidinous language.

These attributes will be discussed in the ensuing section in a strictly statistical manner, which will give them not only a precise present meaning, but will render them capable of comparison with future narrations of similar characteristics.

## II

When the consideration of a lumber-jack's eating arises the obvious question is: how fast? To provide an answer I have timed three or four hundred men in nine north Idaho camps during 144 meals.

TABLE I

MEAL	MEAN NUMBER OF MINUTES REQUIRED FOR EATING BY		
	Fastest man	Average man	Slowest man
Breakfast.....	6	10	15
Lunch.....	7	12	16
Supper.....	8	13	17
Daily total.....	21	35	48

Not only the first bolter and the last Fletcherizer were clocked, but also the average man, say the twentieth fellow to leave the table out of forty. As a result the mean figures in Table I were obtained.

Translated from arithmetic to prose this table implies that the average wood chopper spends just 35 minutes a day in food assimilation. Furthermore, there is in each camp a fastest man or group of men who waste but 21 minutes diurnally in the mad dash for sustenance. On the other hand there is generally some incorrigible laggard who requires as much as a quarter of an hour for the mastication of every meal.

It was only possible to gather data bearing on a few of those numerous specific habits of eating which an arbitrary

TABLE II

SUBJECT UNDER DISCUSSION	PER CENT OF TIME
Pornographic stories, experiences, and theories.....	23
Personal adventures in which narrator is hero.....	11
Outrages of capitalism.....	8
Prohibition, bootlegging, and jags.....	6
Logging technique and lore.....	5
Acriminius remarks about bosses and employers.....	5
Wild life, excluding the human.....	5
Agricultural methods and failures.....	4
Tunney-Dempsey and Dempsey-Sharkey battles.....	3
Scientific dissertations.....	3
Personal adventures in which narrator is not hero.....	2
Employment and unemployment prospects.....	2
Lindberg and aeronautics.....	2
Forest fires.....	2
Religious discussions, more profane than spiritual.....	2
Automobiles, particularly Fords.....	2
Reform economic schemes to supersede capitalism.....	1
Sarcastic evaluations of the late war to end war.....	1
The meteorological outlook.....	1
Sears Roebuck vs. Montgomery Ward.....	1
The good old days of the golden past.....	1
Food and the culinary art.....	1
Sickness and quacks.....	1
President Coolidge, with mordant comments on pseudo-cowboys.....	1
Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith.....	1
The Forest Service.....	1
The Sacco-Vanzetti case.....	1
A local murder.....	1
Miscellaneous.....	3
Total.....	100

society has established as table manners. Based on an actual analysis of 100 samples, it was found that 12 per cent of the eaters were two tool men; that is, employed both

knife and fork to lift the food into the oral cavity. As regards bread spearing, 33 per cent of the diners commonly depended upon their forks to harpoon the staff of life. That banal euphonism, *please*, preceded 93 per cent of all the requests for the passage of sustenance. In the imbibition of soup the average auditory range to the nearest even unit was 9 feet.

Since conversation is the principal absorber of the lumberjack's leisure, one naturally wonders to what fields he devotes his interlocutory abilities. As a silent listener, watch in hand, to 1800 minutes of confabulation during the summers of 1927 and 1928, I have obtained the figures shown in Table II on subject matter.

But after all, it is not the subject matter which is most typical of the logger's conversation. It is the virility of his adjectives and interjections which differ-

entiates his oral activities from those of ordinary mortals. To derive an exact measure of this vocal distinction, ten conversations were closely heeded for 15 minutes each. All profane and lascivious utterances, assumed to be taboo in chaste circles, were tallied. From this record it transpired that an average of 136 words, unmentionable at church sociables, were enunciated every quarter hour by the hardy hewers of wood. Divided by subject matter the profane words were overwhelmingly in the majority, for they constituted 96 of the 136 maledictions. Of the remaining 40 mephitic sounds enunciated every quarter hour, 31 were of sexual import and 9 were excretory in nature. Unfortunately various heritages from Anthony Comstock's activities make it impossible to mention individually these profanations and obscenities.

### REGIONAL MEETINGS

An experiment in the concentration of the work of small committees was recently tried at Atlanta on November 30 and December 1. Meeting were the Social Science Research Council Advisory Committee on Interracial Relations, the Advisory Southern Regional Committee, the Committee on Southern Fellowships, and an informal group studying Negro delinquency in various sections of the South. For the most part members of each committee attended all meetings and the exchange of discussion proved quite effective. The members present were *Charles E. Merriam, Robert S. Lynd, Harold F. Gosnell, George Arthur, J. F. Steiner, Charles S. Johnson, E. T. Krueger, H. C. Brearley, T. J. Woofster, Jr., W. W. Alexander, Roy M. Brown, Howard W. Odum, Wilson Gee, Max Handman, Joseph Peterson, Ellis M. Coulter, Benjamin Kendrick, and others.*

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### MUNICIPAL SPENDING

AMY HEWES

THE grumbling tax-payer has long been a resident of every city and town. His city spends too much and he is required to pay more than he can afford. But when, in the next breath, he advocates the undertaking of municipal projects involving large sums, he weakens his plea for sympathy in behalf of oppressed citizens.

His complaint often is that there is waste in the spending and perhaps graft, but he is not an important critic until he knows what the major and minor items of the city budget are and how these compare with similar ones of other cities. If, however, you ask ten of these harassed tax-payers to name the major items for which money has been spent in their own city in order of their importance, they will each give different answers. Probably not one in the ten will know which items have been increasing and which decreasing; much less likely will any one of them have investigated municipal spending in other cities whose experience might give him reason for calling his own extravagant or thrifty. For cities as well as individuals maintain different standards of living, and comparison of items and unit costs should afford a good starting point for a commentary on the spending of a given city.

#### THE CITIES STUDIED

The present study<sup>1</sup> is an analysis of the expenditures of ten Massachusetts cities during the decade ending with the fiscal year 1927, the last for which complete figures were available. It is a period which reflects in the increased expenditures which characterize the first part, the general need to make up for the neglect of many city needs during the war time when municipal spending was checked.<sup>2</sup> The spending during the last years pictures the services which cities found they could afford during a period of general prosperity.

The cities chosen represent nearly all the urban conditions of the Commonwealth, (outside the metropolis itself). They are located in different sections of the state and their industries and business activities include nearly all those of major importance in the state. In point of size of their population, according to the state census of 1925, they fall into three groups as follows: Group I. Population over 100,000 but under 150,000—Springfield, Cambridge, New Bedford; Group II.

<sup>1</sup> The study is the work of a group of seven students in the statistics course, in the Department of Economics of Mount Holyoke College, under the direction of Amy Hewes.

<sup>2</sup> H. L. Lutz, *Public Finance*, p. 66.



Population over 41,000 but under 61,000—Holyoke, Newton, Pittsfield, Chicopee; Group III. Population over 19,000 but under 25,000 — Northampton, North Adams, Westfield. The population of Springfield and Chicopee increased by more than a third in the ten years between the state census of 1915 and that of 1925, and that of Newton and Pittsfield by

ago. In every case studied the expenditure at the end of the decade was well over half as much again as at the beginning. Springfield and Chicopee more than doubled the amount spent. (See Table I.) The increases in the short period are amazing when it is remembered that they were devoted to local needs and not the piling up of expenditures for war

TABLE I  
TOTAL MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES, 1918 AND 1927

CITY	TOTAL EXPENDITURE*		PER CENT INCREASE (1927 OVER 1918)
	1918	1927	
Group I:			
Springfield.....	4,449,513.51	9,747,845.27	119.08
Cambridge.....	4,113,327.27	7,246,936.44	76.18
New Bedford.....	3,977,123.91	7,423,448.25	86.65
Group II:			
Holyoke.....	2,579,916.46	4,386,685.37	70.03
Newton.....	2,074,761.10	4,072,284.88	96.28
Pittsfield.....	1,151,513.88	2,105,643.58	82.86
Chicopee.....	1,008,103.13	2,223,289.59	120.54
Group III:			
Northampton.....	533,056.94	968,872.33	81.76
North Adams.....	519,064.80	865,098.38	66.66
Westfield.....	613,059.89	1,209,267.69	97.25

\* Current charges against revenue for maintenance and operation.

approximately a fifth during the same period, but the gains in the other cities were far smaller percentages and in one case, that of Holyoke, there was an actual decrease in the population. Westfield became a city in 1921.

#### SPENDING ON A LARGER SCALE<sup>3</sup>

The Massachusetts cities spend vastly larger sums today than they did ten years

<sup>3</sup> The comparisons here presented would not have been possible had it not been for the statutory requirement of uniform accounts which are rendered annually by the auditor of each city to the Department of Corporations and Taxation, and for the co-operation of the Director of Accounts, Mr. Theodore N. Waddell, and the auditors of the various cities.

purposes to which we became accustomed in national budgets.

The whole story of larger expenditures is not told by these figures, for the purchasing power of the dollar as measured by wholesale prices increased more than a third between 1918 and 1927 making the actual increases even larger than they appear to be.<sup>4</sup>

The first explanation which comes to mind to account for the larger sums spent is naturally the needs of the increased population. Not only do more persons have to be provided with municipal services, but in many cases these must be

<sup>4</sup> Monthly Labor Review, 27, p. 172.

provided at increasing costs.<sup>5</sup> In spite of all this, the facts before us indicate that the increases have outstripped the population so far as to force the explanation that they must have been required by the extension of old and the taking on

increased during the decade by only a little more than a third, the expenditures more than doubled. Holyoke, whose population was actually less in 1925 than in 1915 increased her municipal expenditures by 70 per cent.

TABLE II  
PER CAPITA MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES, 1918-1927

CITY	NUMBER OF DOLLARS PER CAPITA EXPENDED									
	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Average.....	35.19	36.14	44.14	46.91	48.67	52.53	50.73	53.07	56.06	57.96
Group I:										
Springfield.....	43.21	38.60	47.41	52.82	56.45	60.74	59.08	63.00	65.46	68.62
Cambridge.....	37.80	44.46	47.49	49.85	49.68	54.26	52.10	54.24	56.63	60.56
New Bedford.....	36.30	36.20	45.47	51.97	54.60	56.39	57.83	59.25	60.52	62.10
Group II:										
Holyoke.....	42.42	45.57	60.07	62.95	61.15	68.38	66.53	69.52	70.66	72.71
Newton.....	48.12	52.07	61.70	61.51	67.65	70.78	64.30	64.78	76.02	76.83
Pittsfield.....	29.07	28.68	36.68	39.71	39.26	41.29	39.55	41.69	43.94	44.92
Chicopee.....	33.45	28.58	38.25	40.86	43.08	47.47	44.52	48.02	49.45	53.08
Group III:										
Northampton.....	24.62	25.06	30.36	32.82	34.59	40.49	38.89	40.68	41.01	40.13
North Adams.....	23.56	24.86	29.32	30.55	32.55	34.10	34.24	35.78	37.63	38.08
Westfield.....	33.30	37.27	44.61	46.03	47.68	51.41	50.25	53.72	59.25	62.52

TABLE III  
MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURE FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1918 AND 1927

ITEM OF EXPENDITURE	EXPENDITURE FOR ALL CITIES		PER CENT INCREASE
	1918	1927	
Schools.....	\$4,814,955.78	\$11,205,207.78	132.72
Highways.....	1,676,521.17	3,310,422.59	97.46
Health and sanitation.....	1,670,771.96	3,212,280.16	92.26
Public service.....	1,955,338.02	3,053,581.36	56.17
Fire.....	1,213,967.74	2,805,981.19	131.14
Police.....	1,264,760.59	2,710,747.71	114.33
Charities.....	860,090.47	1,773,545.77	106.20
Recreation.....	375,074.97	928,121.44	147.45
Libraries.....	293,581.55	596,962.85	103.34

of new services. They constitute the program of municipal socialism. Even in the case of the two cities, Springfield and Chicopee, where the population

<sup>5</sup> W. B. Munro, *Municipal Government and Administration*, p. 479.

The same tendency is exhibited by an examination of the per capita expenditure during the decade. (See Table II.) Every city was spending more per person at the end than at the beginning, and, with only a few exceptions, the amounts

only a  
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increased in each succeeding year. In 1918 no city was spending as much as fifty dollars per capita but in 1927 all but three were spending more than fifty dollars and six were spending more than sixty dollars.

#### WHAT THE TAXES BUY

Education is the most costly service paid for from the treasuries of cities.

recreation, a minor one in size and closely related to schools in the objects to which it is devoted. Libraries, another of the six items for which the expenditures had doubled in the decade, may also be classified as educational.

The prominence of schools among other items of the budget holds not only for the ten cities collectively but also for each separately. The school expenditure for

1916	1927
5.06	57.96
.46	68.62
.63	60.56
.52	62.10
.66	72.71
.02	76.83
.94	44.92
.45	53.08
.01	40.13
.63	38.08
.25	62.52

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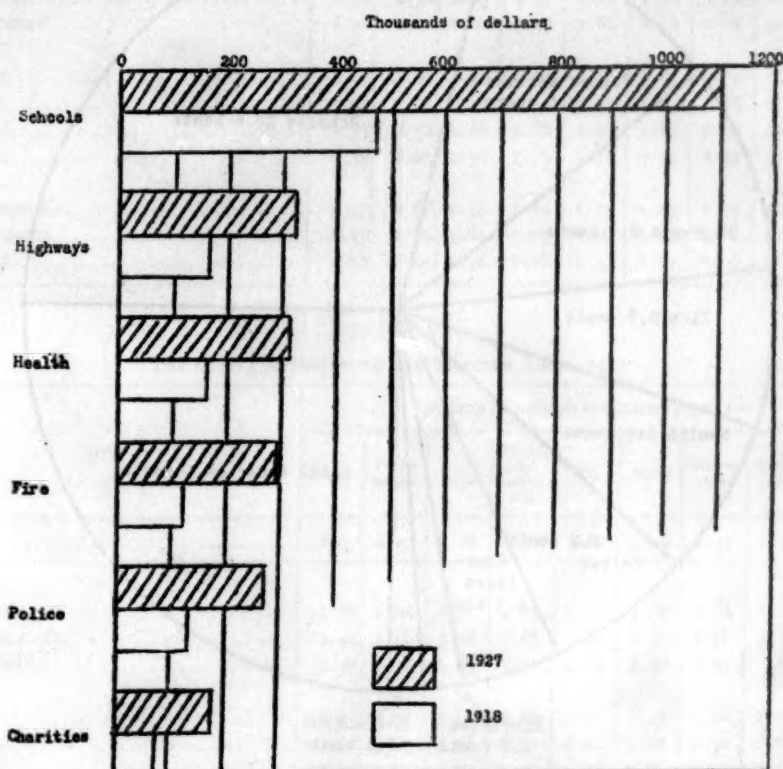


CHART 1. MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1918 AND 1927

(See Table III and Charts 1 and 2.) By 1927 schools had become a million dollar item in the case of Springfield, Cambridge, New Bedford and Newton. It is a rapidly mounting item. The per cent of increase in the aggregate for schools (133 per cent) in the decade was larger than that for any other item except

the ten cities in 1918, nearly 24 cents out of every dollar, had increased to nearly 29 cents out of every dollar in 1927.

For a number of items as for instance police, fire protection and charities, the percentage of the whole is strikingly similar in size in the different cities, with variations of only a few cents from the



group average, but this is not the case with schools. In 1918, Holyoke and New Bedford spent less than 17 and 18 cents out of every dollar for schools when three other cities were spending nearly 30 cents. In 1927 five cities were spending about a third of every dollar for schools

having nearly doubled in the decade. The per capita expenditure exhibits striking differences among cities. The cities with large populations show bigger expenditures than the smaller cities for health, police and fire, but the per capita expenditures are by no means uniformly

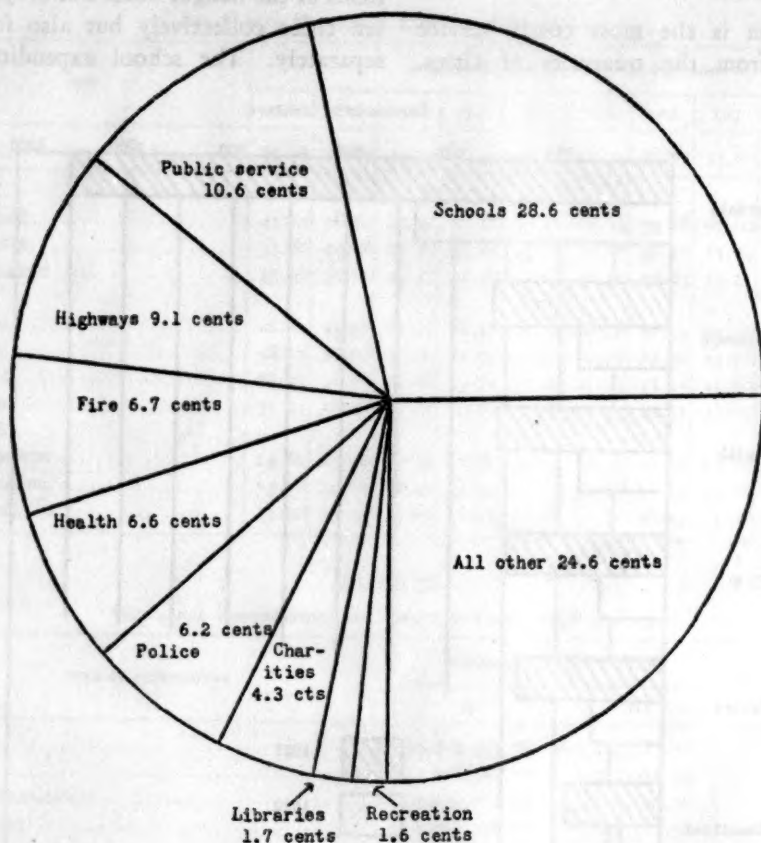


CHART 2. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CENTS OUT OF EVERY DOLLAR SPENT FOR DIFFERENT ITEMS IN 1927

and three were still spending less than 25 cents of each dollar but no one of the ten less than 20 cents.

Perhaps the fairest basis for the comparison of some items is per capita expenditure. (See Tables IV and V.) Here again in the average for the group, schools outdistance all other items in both 1918 and 1927,

larger for other items. In the case of highways, differences may be largely due to natural differences in the soil and configuration, requiring more expensive engineering operations in some cases than in others. Differences in the per capita expenditures for public services may be largely due to different accounting methods, as intimated earlier.

TABLE IV  
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1918

CITY	NUMBER OF DOLLARS PER PERSON SPENT FOR								
	Schools	Public services	Highways	Health and sanitation	Police	Fire	Charities	Libraries	Recreation
Average.....	8.27	3.98	2.96	2.42	2.00	1.93	1.47	0.56	0.49
Group I:									
Springfield.....	12.46	2.16	3.95	3.57	2.76	3.11	1.08	0.83	1.10
Cambridge.....	8.08	2.38	2.65	3.47	2.24	1.91	1.81	0.34	0.94
New Bedford.....	6.41	1.39	2.62	3.57	2.62	2.02	2.09	0.41	0.49
Group II:									
Holyoke.....	7.09	13.37	1.94	2.94	2.10	2.85	1.74	0.31	0.52
Newton.....	13.97	1.71	4.99	3.73	2.71	2.23	1.18	0.85	1.32
Pittsfield.....	7.35	0.54	2.86	1.88	1.67	1.25	0.80	0.33	0.24
Chicopee.....	6.39	6.25	2.90	1.72	1.78	2.25	1.53	0.36	0.12
Group III:									
Northampton.....	7.37	0.61	2.54	1.10	1.17	1.43	1.20	1.44	0.10
North Adams.....	6.33	1.11	2.84	1.05	1.56	0.95	1.14	0.36	0.01
Westfield.....	7.27	10.23	2.32	1.18	1.37	1.34	2.08	0.36	0.07

TABLE V  
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE FOR SELECTED ITEMS, 1927

CITY	NUMBER OF DOLLARS PER PERSON SPENT FOR								
	Schools	Public services	Highways	Health and sanitation	Fire	Police	Charities	Recreation	Libraries
Average.....	16.27	6.47	5.19	3.97	3.87	3.59	2.42	1.02	0.94
Group I:									
Springfield.....	22.80	2.22	6.65	4.75	5.56	4.60	1.62	2.11	1.29
Cambridge.....	14.44	3.12	3.76	7.56	3.81	4.51	4.36	2.18	0.70
New Bedford.....	15.97	1.56	3.45	5.50	4.19	4.90	3.43	0.92	0.72
Group II:									
Holyoke.....	15.49	16.88	3.87	4.89	5.97	4.16	3.90	1.03	0.71
Newton.....	23.18	3.23	10.06	6.01	4.42	5.39	1.40	2.92	1.46
Pittsfield.....	14.47	1.00	4.91	2.55	2.47	2.89	1.33	0.43	0.58
Chicopee.....	12.82	9.26	4.40	2.79	3.85	2.63	3.02	0.29	0.53
Group III:									
Northampton.....	13.91	4.01	4.28	1.82	3.24	1.91	1.50	0.07	1.65
North Adams.....	12.58	0.97	4.48	2.00	2.54	2.58	1.96	0.06	0.69
Westfield.....	17.02	22.49	6.07	1.83	2.65	2.33	1.67	0.23	1.03

EXPENDITURE FOR SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN ATTENDING

The growing population accounts in part for the steadily mounting figures for schools. There are always more children

to be provided with the free education from public funds which has long been an American principle. But free education now consists of far more than the inculcation of the three R's. The city schools of

today, housed in huge structures and provided with a multiplicity of accessories for athletics and other extra-curricular activities do not resemble the little red school house of song and story. The individual child is provided with more equipment and his teachers are paid with some relation to increased costs.

During the last decade, Massachusetts cities have nearly doubled the amount spent per child in attendance. (See Table

TABLE VI  
EXPENDITURE PER CHILD ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1918  
AND 1927

	EXPENDITURE PER CHILD ATTENDING SCHOOL*		
	1918	1927	Per cent increase of 1927 over 1918
Group I:			
Springfield.....	\$58.27	\$121.83	109.1
Cambridge.....	50.91	99.73	95.9
New Bedford.....	40.58	89.09	119.5
Group II:			
Holyoke.....	61.68	108.58	76.0
Newton.....	61.41	114.99	87.3
Pittsfield.....	42.81	83.62	95.3
Chicopee.....	37.31	76.64	105.4
Group III:			
Northampton.....	40.90	79.70	94.9
North Adams.....	46.43	81.67	75.9
Westfield.....	41.25	67.00	62.4

\* Based on average daily attendance.

VI.) Three cities, Springfield, Holyoke and Newton, spent more than \$100 per child in 1927 and the city which spent least per child in that year, Westfield, expended an amount, \$67, which was larger by several dollars than that spent by any one of the ten in 1918. Thus we have gratifying evidence of improvement in the opportunities for free public education which are very general, but we also have evidence of the continuation of glaring inequalities in educational facilities for children living in the same

commonwealth only a few miles apart. Such inequalities are most undesirable and raise a question of the soundness of resting the major burden for financing the elementary and secondary schools upon the municipality rather than upon the state.

#### MUNICIPAL CHARITY

Relief of the poor has been among the responsibilities of local governments in Massachusetts from Colonial times to the present. The activities of the modern municipal boards of public welfare, however, contrast at many points with the help that was so begrudgingly given to the poor who could claim settlement in the hard-pressed communities of the early days. The change of name, from Overseers of the Poor to Boards of Public Welfare, which dispense city money for a variety of purposes, indicates something of the new point of view and increased scope of the work undertaken.<sup>6</sup> The passage of the Mothers' Aid law in 1913 greatly increased their functions and improved their practices. A state law<sup>7</sup> forbade the designation of "almshouses" and these institutions became "City Infirmarys" and "City Farms." The "paupers" and "public charges" who had been the recipients of public money became persons "in need" or "in receipt of relief" or "poor persons."<sup>8</sup>

The state Commissioner of Corporations and Taxation does still include, however, in the annual report on municipal finances an item for "charities" under the payments made by cities. During the decade studied, the average for this item in the ten cities remained a strikingly uniform per cent of the amounts expended. (See Table VII.) It did not vary as much as

<sup>6</sup> Acts of 1927, Chap. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Acts of 1927, Chap. 203.

<sup>8</sup> Acts of 1928, Chap. 155.



one cent in any year from the average for the decade which was 4.2 cents in every dollar. With the larger totals expended toward the close of the decade, however, these percentages yielded much larger per capita amounts for charitable purposes and indicate the tendency for a much increased scope in the cities' activities in this field. The average per capita increased from \$1.47 in 1918 to \$2.42 in 1927.

The different cities exhibited a rather wide range in the per capita amount spent

beginning of local government an important item in city charity. In the case of the five cities where it was feasible to compare the particular items under the heading "Charities," Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee, Northampton and Westfield, "out door" relief was the largest of all and remained about half the total charity expenditure over the decade for all these cities but Chicopee, where it absorbed about two thirds of the total amount in 1927. The second largest item in each case was the maintenance of

TABLE VII  
PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDED FOR CHARITIES, 1918-1927

CITY	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDED										
	Average	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918
Average.....	4.2	4.3	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.7	4.3	4.6	4.1	4.6	4.3
Cambridge.....	6.1	7.2	6.8	7.0	6.9	6.2	6.5	6.2	5.5	4.8	4.8
New Bedford.....	5.6	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.0	4.9	5.7	8.1	5.2	5.8	5.7
Chicopee.....	5.0	5.7	5.8	5.0	4.8	4.2	5.0	5.3	4.2	5.7	4.6
Holyoke.....	4.8	5.4	4.8	5.0	4.8	4.0	5.1	5.3	4.1	5.0	4.1
North Adams.....	4.6	5.2	5.3	5.1	4.4	3.9	4.2	4.0	4.0	5.3	4.8
Westfield.....	4.5	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.3	3.8	4.7	5.3	6.3	6.5	6.2
Northampton.....	4.0	3.7	3.6	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.7	4.2	4.6	5.3	4.9
Pittsfield.....	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.9	2.5	2.3	2.8	2.8
Springfield.....	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.5
Newton.....	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.5

for charity, which probably reflected differences not only in the character of the help given, but also different population needs. For instance, Cambridge, a compactly built city which presents what is really a metropolitan situation, had the highest average of all. New Bedford, Chicopee and Holyoke, all mill cities with large industrial populations also had high averages, some of which were associated with extended periods of general depression. In contrast, Newton, principally a residential area, made continually a low per capita expenditure.

Outdoor relief remains as it was in the

the institution formerly known as the "Almshouse." Holyoke, Chicopee, and Northampton have special funds which have been donated or willed to the care of the city for charity uses. These are devoted to poor relief, usually with separate administration.

#### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURE FOR CHARITY COMPARED

The changes in method and scope which appear to characterize recent public expenditure for charity invite a comparison with that of private social agencies. Five of the cities studied had community

chests which made it possible to get some comprehensive, though by no means inclusive, measure of private expenditure. (See Table VIII.)

In the case of some cities the major part of the philanthropic work done, as gauged by the amounts spent, was performed by the city. For instance, in Holyoke, New Bedford, and Northampton more than half of the money which went for charity in 1927 was drawn from the city treasury unless the addition of unreported amounts spent by the churches and agencies not included in the private expenditure should turn the balance. It

entiated poor not provided for by them make up the largest part of the clientele of the city's charity.

#### SUMMARY

When the complaining tax-payer takes the trouble to find out where his money goes, he is not so likely to begrudge the payment of it as he was before. Not only private curiosity but civic duty should urge him to study municipal expenditure, to compare corresponding items in the budget of his own and other cities and to account for outstanding differences. If he does not only this but also informs

TABLE VIII  
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURE FOR CHARITIES, 1927

CITY	EXPENDITURE FOR CHARITIES			
	Public		Private	
	Amount expended	Per cent of total	Amount expended	Per cent of total
Holyoke.....	\$235,431.09	68.3	\$109,444.00	31.7
New Bedford.....	409,520.72	69.9	175,964.24	30.1
Northampton.....	36,102.89	54.6	30,000.00*	45.4
Pittsfield.....	62,122.13	32.8	127,486.00	67.2
Springfield.....	230,639.47	40.1	345,042.28	59.9

\* Estimate of the Association of Community Chests and Councils.

must be remembered, however, that the work of many of the social agencies included is only in part philanthropic. On the other hand, in Pittsfield and Springfield the amount raised by the community chests alone far outweighed the amount spent by the city.<sup>9</sup> (See Table VIII.)

In general it is true that the more specialized philanthropic work is done by the social agencies while the undiffer-

himself about the way in which particular items increase and decrease over periods of time, he will be in a position to offer the criticism necessary for wiser expenditure.

This study of the expenditure of ten cities in Massachusetts suggests a few general conclusions which may have even wider application. The first characteristic of the post-war decade is the general increases throughout the period. City spending has grown by leaps and bounds and although this is to be explained in part by the growth of the urban population, it is due more than all else to programs calling for increased municipal services. The greater purchasing power of the dollar probably conceals the extent to

<sup>9</sup> The comparisons between cities are not to be relied on absolutely because the community chest of some cities financed agencies which were excluded from it in another. For instance the Springfield chest in 1927 included the Y. M. C. A. and the visiting nurses, both of which were outside the chest in Northampton.

which these increases measure the benefits enjoyed by the citizens. Education called for the greatest outlay from the city treasuries. From one-quarter to nearly one-third of the total expenditures have been used to provide school facilities for the children of the communities.

In the second place it is to be noted that with some important exceptions, as in the case of schools, the city functions have become somewhat standardized in budgets of the same size, so that they have come to occupy similar positions in the expenditures of different cities. As the cities became more prosperous, they spent in about the same ratio to their totals for a given service, but "bigger and better" services went along with the larger totals as indicated by the larger per capita amounts. For instance in health and sanitation the percentage of the total amount spent was the same at the end of the period, but the per capita had jumped from \$2.42 to \$3.97. A similar change took place in recreation which used only

four tenths of one per cent more of the expenditure, but increased its per capita benefit from \$.49 to \$1.02. The per capita differences between cities in the case of expenditure for schools raise grave questions regarding the policy of local financing for this important service.

Finally, the indications of a trend toward a larger scope for municipal functions are clear. Money spent for education and charity goes not merely for more of the same kind of service but for new varieties. To the traditional subjects of elementary education have been added evening lectures for adults in Greek Philosophy and current events; to the relief of the poor in the form of groceries are added the professional care and advice of the trained social worker. Municipal expenditure has put within the reach of all citizens facilities for making life in an urban community more secure and more full of resources than it would be if they were dependent upon their individual efforts.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL APPOINTMENTS

The Social Science Research Council announces the following with reference to its staff:

ROBERT S. LYND, who has been serving as Secretary of the Council has been made its Permanent Secretary.

DR. MEREDITH B. GIVENS joined the staff of the Council as research assistant in the field of industrial relations and related fields.

DR. WALTER R. SHARP, of the University of Wisconsin, has succeeded Dr. John V. Van Sickle as its Fellowship Secretary.

MISS CAROLYN E. ALLYN, formerly Assistant to the Treasurer, has been appointed Controller of the Council.

PROFESSOR WESLEY C. MITCHELL, PROFESSOR ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, and PROFESSOR ROBERT S. WOODWORTH were reelected to succeed themselves as, respectively, Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer of the Council, and PRESIDENT HENRY T. MOORE, of Skidmore College, was elected Secretary to succeed Professor Robert T. Crane.



## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### NATIONAL ARBITRATION IN THE BALANCE: THE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS VERSUS THE COMPOSITORS

ETHEL B. DIETRICH

#### I

THOUGH times have changed since the following statement was included in the "Introductory Remarks" to the Constitution of the New York Typographical Society (1833) that

"Scarcely any employment can be more laborious than that of publishing a daily morning newspaper. . . . It requires the united exercise of the mental and bodily labor of the persons employed, for nearly the whole night, and a considerable portion of the day; being seldom able to allot more than seven hours to rest and refreshment."<sup>1</sup>

nevertheless, it still remains true that there is perhaps no industry to-day in which pressure of work is more conspicuously the daily routine of mechanics and staff. In the production of a product, the perishability of which is a matter of a few hours, not only has a high degree of coöperation been imperative, but the necessity of speed has made the newspaper industry one of the most difficult and expensive manufacturing processes. Moreover, no industry except the automobile industry has shown such rapid advance in technique to meet the demands of modern life.

<sup>1</sup> E. Stewart, "Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers," *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor*, No. 61, pp. 897-898.

Though originally the newspaper was owned and conducted by the editor with the hope of making it a social and political force in the community for whatever object he might have in view, to-day the newspaper is a commercial product, an aid to business as well as a dispenser of general information and entertainment. It is a convenience rather than an influence and with the development of advertising it has become an important asset of industry and commerce. It receives a joint income from its circulation and its advertising. The latter has increased five-fold in the last fifteen years and has more than doubled the gross circulation income, so that to-day it is the former by-product which furnishes the life blood of the newspapers—a change which has made the industry highly sensitive to business cycles.<sup>2</sup>

Although the newspaper industry is plainly an industry of decreasing costs, carrying an expensive mechanical overhead with all the characteristics of mass

<sup>2</sup> In 1927 it was estimated that \$225,000,000 was spent in national advertising, supported in large part by the automobile, radio, and tobacco industries and that there was a total advertising investment of \$812,000,000. *Editor and Publisher and the Fourth Estate*, March 3, 1928, March 10, 1928.

production, it was not affected by a combination movement until the war years because of the predominant local news interest and local advertising. Before 1900, there was a constant increase in the number of newspapers, but since then the number has remained practically stationary and during 1927 there was an actual decrease in English language daily newspapers from 2,001 to 1,952.

Rising production costs caused by an increased price of newsprint, higher money wages and the demand of the public for more expensive news service dealing with sports, adventures, and international finance, which in turn have necessitated more elaborate equipment to speed up editions, have increased the dependence of the newspaper on the advertiser. To survive it has been necessary to secure not only local advertising but also national advertising, which has shown a tendency to concentrate on a single newspaper in a community. In consequence, the recent record reveals the growth both of local consolidations to keep the presses running day and night and to obtain sufficient advertising copy, and of great newspaper chains with special press services and syndicated features, reminiscent of the pioneer work of E. W. Scripps, W. R. Hearst and F. A. Munsey. At present there are 52 such groups composed of 243 daily newspapers with some Sunday editions. This represents a control of  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the daily and 46 per cent of the Sunday circulation.<sup>3</sup> The Scripps-Howard group owns the largest number of daily newspapers, but the Hearst interests control the largest circulation which amounts to 12.2 per cent of the daily newspapers and 19 per cent of the Sunday newspapers.

From the employers' viewpoint there

<sup>3</sup> *Editor and Publisher and the Fourth Estate*, April 14, 1928.

has been every reason to organize. Making a product for which there is only limited local competition but which is affected increasingly by national conditions with respect to advertising, news service, and raw materials, they have felt a growing need for authoritative assistance and research. Moreover, the newspaper is a product with a standardized price, while at the same time its advertising income fluctuates with business conditions. To meet these problems the American Newspaper Publishers' Association composed of managers, editors and owners of newspapers was organized in 1887.

An added reason for the organization of the publishers has been the power of the trade unions which have been stronger in the newspaper branch than in the job branch, due in part at least to the larger offices and the dependence of the newspaper on stabilized production. As the wages bill is usually the largest single item of cost in newspaper production,<sup>4</sup> it has been a policy of wisdom to treat labor relations scientifically, and as strikes are particularly disastrous in the production of so perishable a product, the development of a form of judicial procedure to keep the presses running has been a matter of expediency.

## II

Unlike the United Typothetae of America, the American Newspaper Publishers'

<sup>4</sup> *Editor and Publisher and the Fourth Estate*, October 9, 1926. Gross income of newspapers (1924) \$1,140,000,000. Costs: \$162,000,000—newspaper manufacture; \$10,000,000—railroads; \$1,500,000—ink; \$175,000,000—mechanics; \$160,000,000—editors and correspondents; \$70,000,000—editorial expenses; \$75,000,000—advertising staff; \$51,000,000—commissions and discounts; \$160,000,000—circulation expense; \$160,000,000—general administrative, new equipment etc. Net income of 2,000 daily newspapers —\$115,000,000.

Association was first organized as a national trade association to raise the standards of trade relations. Prior to its formation many daily newspapers were conducted in a haphazard manner and competition in its worst form was demoralizing the industry. Publishers distrusted each other and rightly. Rates were cut; advertising agencies sprang up and, taking advantage of the keen rivalry, were exploiting the newspapers; the circulation liar was in his prime.

With the hope of finding some way out of the situation, W. H. Brearly of the *Detroit Evening News* addressed a meeting of the National Editorial Association in Cincinnati on February 24, 1886, and receiving encouragement, he mailed circulars to 1,500 newspapers outlining a plan of organization. An informal meeting was held in August at the Old Russell House in Detroit and a committee consisting of W. H. Brearly, J. Ambrose Butler (*Buffalo News*), J. G. Briggs (*Columbus State Journal*), and M. A. Brearly (*Cincinnati Post*) was appointed to secure the signatures of thirty papers with a minimum daily circulation of 5,000 copies. As a result of a favorable response, a convention was called for February 17, 1887, which was attended by representatives of 51 newspapers, and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association was organized. The annual dues were fixed at \$20 a year.

The immediate object of the new Association was the maintenance of a credit bureau to inform its members of the financial standing of advertisers and advertisers' agents and the only labor topic considered at the first meeting dealt with the "prohibition of patent plates by the Typographical Union." Its attention, however, was soon focussed on labor problems which hitherto had been considered local matters. A series

of strikes and lockouts, concerned chiefly with new wage scales and jurisdiction over machine tenders as a result of the introduction of the linotype,<sup>5</sup> had created an unstable condition which threatened to nullify any constructive work along other lines and forced the Association to adopt a national labor policy which has been almost unparalleled in the history of industrial relations.

Realizing that the growing strength of the International Typographical Union<sup>6</sup> meant increasing danger to stabilized conditions, so essential to the newspaper industry, unless some kind of truce could be made, a scheme of national agreements and arbitration procedure was presented to the 1899 convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association by A. A. McCormick. After consideration by a special committee consisting of C. H. Taylor, Jr., A. A. McCormick, J. A. Butler, Herman Ridder, F. A. Driscoll, and M. J. Lowenstein, the plan was reported on favorably at the next convention in 1900 and was adopted by that body according to the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the President of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association appoint a national committee of three members to take up labor questions affecting generally the members of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and that said committee is hereby empowered to take all measures necessary in its judgment to protect the interests of the members of this Association, who may be in trouble with labor unions, subject to the direction of the board of directors.

"Resolved, That no local member or association decide upon questions involving the jurisdiction of national unions or changes affecting the members at large, until such matters shall have been passed upon

<sup>5</sup> The most serious strikes during the years 1898-1900 occurred in Pittsburgh, Chicago and New York.

<sup>6</sup> L. Wolman, *The growth of American trade unions, 1885-1923*, pp. 32, 116. Membership of the International Typographical Union, 1885-1900: 1885-16,183; 1890-22,608; 1895-29,295; 1900-32,100.



by the special standing committee appointed by this Association.

"Resolved, That no rule of a labor union passed on after this date affecting the properties of this Association, can be recognized unless it has first been passed upon by the special standing committee appointed by the Association.

"Resolved, That the special standing committee be directed forthwith to negotiate with each of the allied organizations for the establishment of joint arbitration committees to adjust disputes between members and local unions, that cannot otherwise be settled."<sup>7</sup>

The convention immediately proceeded to elect the members of the Special Standing Committee, which in turn appointed Frederick A. Driscoll, former owner of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, as Labor Commissioner.<sup>8</sup> Since its organization in 1900 the committee has continued to function and has won increasing confidence.

The committee at once issued the following statement, defining its duties:

"The American Newspaper Publishers' Association, in view of the conflicts of greater or less gravity between its members and their employees, and with an earnest desire to prevent such conflicts if possible in the future, appointed at its recent meeting a special standing committee with authority to secure the services of a competent commissioner. This committee is substantially an arbitration committee. Its duty is to obtain data respecting wages paid in several cities, the condition of labor in the offices of the various members of the association, and such other information as may be useful and beneficial to both employer and employee.

"This committee feels charged with the sacred task of settling disputes whenever possible, and to that end will labor to secure the establishment of joint national arbitration committees to adjust labor troubles between members and their employees that cannot otherwise be settled.

<sup>7</sup> G. A. Tracy, *The History of the International Typographical Union*, p. 642.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Driscoll served in this capacity until his death in 1907 when he was succeeded by H. N. Kellogg of the *New York Tribune*. At that time the title was changed to Chairman of the Special Standing Committee. After the resignation of Mr. Kellogg in 1926, Harvey J. Kelly of the Pacific Northwest Publishers' Association was appointed.

"The committee was not appointed to provoke controversies or to antagonize labor, but on the contrary to promote a better understanding between members and their employees. The services of the committee and its commissioner will be at the disposal of any member of the association; and the good offices of the committee will gladly be extended to any member on request."<sup>9</sup>

Acceptance of its services was made optional as comparatively few members favored the work of the committee and its support was by voluntary contribution in order to meet objections of members who doubted its value.<sup>10</sup>

Commissioner Driscoll sought at once the opportunity of speaking before the Milwaukee Convention of the International Typographical Union (1900) in order to present the case of the publishers and to seek an arbitration agreement. In a long and candid address he not only presented the publishers' invitation "to unite with them in establishing a joint arbitration committee to adjust disputes," but he also discussed the outstanding grievances of the publishers, such as union membership of foremen, linotype machinists, and proof readers, ratification of wage scales in secret session and the passage of laws by the International Union affecting industrial relations without a hearing of the employers. The convention, in reply, passed a resolution permitting a representative of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to be heard on important changes in the laws affecting their interests and set machinery in motion for the formulation of a national agreement.

An agreement was drafted after several months of negotiation and approved by

<sup>9</sup> Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 642.

<sup>10</sup> In 1913 this system was changed and machine assessment for support of the Special Standing Committee was made basic for all members. It is paid into the general funds and no special amount is set aside for the purpose.

convention vote of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and by referendum vote of the International Typographical Union to go into effect on May 1, 1901 for one year, thus, inaugurating the longest history of arbitration agreements in industrial relations in the United States.<sup>11</sup> So successful was the agreement that at its expiration a second agreement was drawn up for five years, which was renewed thereafter every five years until the expiration of the 1917 agreement in 1922,<sup>12</sup> and national agreements were sought with the other printing trade unions.<sup>13</sup>

Considering the trend of the times and the character of the membership of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, it is not strange that it should have entered into a national relationship with the International Typographical Union. Seventy-five per cent of its two hundred members were working under contractual relations with the union at that time so that collective bargaining was the customary procedure in industrial relations and the national agreement merely extended the field. Moreover, it was an era of national agreements and

the newspaper publishers were in a sense following in the steps of the National Erectors' Association, the National Founders' Association, the National Metal Trades' Association, the Employing Lithographers, and the Fur Felt Hat Manufacturers, and even the United Typothetae of America which had signed the Syracuse Agreement in 1898.<sup>14</sup> Because of its voluntary character and the fact that the agreement covered only matters of arbitration, contractual relations on a national scale in the newspaper industry outlived these other agreements which did not last a decade and the history is almost unique in labor annals. Too much credit cannot be given to the leaders of both organizations who honestly strove for the success of the agreement and whose spirit is reflected in the following words of President Lynch, speaking before the convention of the publishers in 1908: "If all employers' associations were officered by men as broad and liberal as the gentlemen I have named, there would be more industrial peace, and a better understanding between employer and employee."<sup>15</sup>

Except for an illegal strike in Chicago in 1911 which was repudiated by the President of the International Union who filled the vacancies with union men, and difficulties in New Orleans in 1915 for which the Union considers itself largely to blame as its members did not respond to the strike call, the only important controversy for twenty years affecting the status of industrial relations was in Spokane and Seattle in 1902-1903. This was due in final analysis to a misunderstanding with regard to the method of procedure under the agreement and resulted in the prepara-

<sup>11</sup> In the case of the International Typographical Union the problem of ratification by referendum vote was difficult as the Union had to convince a rather hostile membership through the medium of the *Typographical Journal*. The union officers were particularly anxious to have it adopted as they realized that it would strengthen the position of the Union in its fight for eight hours in the book and job branch, foresight which ex-President Lynch considers largely responsible for the eight hour victory.

<sup>12</sup> D. Weiss, "History of Arbitration in American Newspaper Publishing Industry," *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1923, pp. 15-33. For history of the agreements see this article.

<sup>13</sup> In 1902 the publishers signed similar agreements with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union and in 1907 with the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

<sup>14</sup> G. E. Barnett, "National and district systems of collective bargaining," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 26, p. 433.

<sup>15</sup> *Typographical Journal*, 32, p. 509.

tion of the Code of Procedure which has been a veritable peace covenant. With its adoption in 1903 the chances of disagreement on questions other than the immediate cause were eliminated, for matters subject to arbitration were carefully defined as well as local and national arbitration practices.<sup>16</sup> From this time on, all labor matters were handled by the Special Standing Committee which reports annually to the publishers' convention and until 1922 greetings were brought to the convention by the presidents of the international unions or their representatives. During the years 1912-1913 the publishers were bitterly attacked in *American Industries* for their friendly relations with the compositors.

### III

The extraordinary conditions of 1920 which increased the bargaining power of the unions at the same time that they gave strength to the secession movement, and the approaching struggle for the 44-hour week in the book and job branch again made labor problems dominant. Although Commissioner Kellogg reported that the unions assured him that newspaper offices would not be affected by the 44-hour strike in the book and job printing industry unless non-union men were employed in the job departments of newspaper offices, the Association placed itself on record both in 1920 and 1921 as definitely opposed to the introduction of the 44-hour week, believing that the 48-hour week is an economic limit beyond which the newspaper industry cannot go and in the following statement more or less openly defied the unions:

"The American Newspaper Publishers' Association declares against reduction of the hours constituting a day's work below forty-eight hours, and instructs its committees and officers to that effect.

"The American Newspaper Publishers' Association endorses the efforts of its members who are endeavoring to maintain the forty-eight hour week and pledges them its co-operation and support."<sup>17</sup>

A resolution was passed condemning the price-fixing agreement in the photo-engraving industry and the Special Standing Committee was authorized to employ a field man to go into localities needing him to assist in local negotiations which were increasing in difficulty on account of the growing strength of the trade union radicals.<sup>18</sup> He was kept under retainer for only one year.

Meanwhile, in 1922 there were three events which marked it as a crisis year in industrial relations in the newspaper industry, namely: the failure of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and three of the international unions to renew the national arbitration agreements; the organization of the Open Shop Division of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, and the decision of the Association to discontinue its custom of inviting the presidents of the international unions to address its convention.<sup>19</sup> Once more, the Association was influenced by the trend of the times. Not only was the Open Shop Division of the United Typothetae of America waging what seemed to be a successful fight against the introduction of the 44-hour week but the open shop sentiment throughout the country was gaining

<sup>17</sup> *New York Times*, April 24, 1920.

<sup>18</sup> In 1921 the Chairman of the Special Standing Committee reported 19 strikes, most of which were illegal.

<sup>19</sup> Because of the pressure of business as well as for other reasons the American Newspaper Publishers' Association has held consistently to the policy of not inviting outsiders to address it and has made exceptions only for the trade union presidents. Coming at this time, the withdrawal of the privilege seemed an unfriendly gesture, particularly since the publishers had suggested originally to the Union that their representatives be given a hearing at the Union conventions on changes of policies affecting them.

<sup>16</sup> Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 744-747.



strength. The strain of the war years had not spent itself. While on the one hand the memory of the unwillingness of the employers to adjust contracted wages to the skyrocket advance in prices, as in the case of the New York press feeders, still rankled, on the other hand the failure of the international unions to control illegal strikes had weakened the confidence of the employers.

With regard to the problem of arbitration, matters came to a head with the expiration of the five year agreement executed in 1917. Since 1904, the employers had been agitating for the right to arbitrate trade union laws affecting wages, hours, and working conditions, and being in a more militant mood in 1922, they passed a standing resolution, forbidding arbitration agreements exempting from arbitration Laws of the International Union. Harvey J. Kelly, Chairman of the Special Standing Committee, has expressed their point of view as follows:

"The publishers have no desire to arbitrate union laws relating to internal matters of the union, but the publishers insist upon the right to submit to an impartial arbitrator any and all controversies which affect wages, hours, working conditions and administrations and administration of the department. Control of his respective departments is necessary to the success of any publisher in the conduct of his business. If union laws presume to be absolute upon these points and contemplate removing from the jurisdiction of an arbitration board these highly important questions, then it is doubtful if there will ever again be International Arbitration Agreements with the unions adhering to this theory."<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile, the International Typographical Union has remained adamant, feeling that such a policy would mean an invasion into internal management. To the Union, each law represents a definite right won at no little cost, which is no more arbitrable than the provisions of the Magna

<sup>20</sup> Extract from letter to the writer, October 17, 1928.

Carta. The situation has been aggravated by the acceptance of this provision by the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union in the renewal of the national arbitration agreement in the same year and again in 1928, which makes all matters relating to wages, hours and working conditions arbitrable. The International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union have refused to comply.

Undoubtedly the bogus re-setting rule is the major reason for this attitude on the part of the publishers who consider it "shamefully wasteful and undefendable." According to it, matrices which could be transferred for use in other papers are thrown into the hell-box and the type has to be re-set for each paper. This regulation costs the *New York Times* \$125,000 a year. Though there would seem to be no justification for it, an understanding of the rule can be found in the fight made by the Union to provide work for its members at the time of the introduction of the linotype. The Union now rationalizes about it, claiming that since the employer receives full pay for each advertisement, the employees ought to receive their share. In several centers employers have bought exemption wisely with substantial wage increases.

The strained relations were not helped by the new "Reinstatement Law" of the International Typographical Union, passed in 1927, which provides for compulsory reinstatement of a discharged man upon the request of a local union unless a joint standing committee is provided for specifically in local contracts to have power over discharge cases. This is in direct contradiction of the famous Denver decision of the National Board of Arbitration in 1908 which provided for reinstatement only after

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the case had been appealed to the highest international authorities. At the present time, the Special Standing Committee will not underwrite a local contract which does not provide for the jurisdiction of a joint standing committee over discharge cases or the procedure outlined in the Denver decision.

If, on the one hand, the union holds out on the question of arbitration of union laws, the possibility of joint industrial government will be limited narrowly; whereas, on the other hand, if the publishers refuse to accede to the union's restrictions, the breach will become wider and a new management will grow up, unaccustomed to national industrial relationships.

Although the leader of the open shop movement in the newspaper industry was undoubtedly Harry Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times*,<sup>21</sup> the spokesman was E. J. McCone of the *Buffalo Commercial* who claimed that an open shop organization had been formed in the newspaper industry with 36 active members and the backing of at least 206 newspapers.<sup>22</sup> After a long

<sup>21</sup> Mr. Chandler is the successor of General Harrison Gray Otis who for so many years, beginning with the late eighties, was engaged in a bitter fight against unions, culminating in the famous bomb case in 1910. Although the printing unions were cleared from any connection with the tragedy, the cause of organized labor was seriously injured and with the *Times* as spokesman, Los Angeles is today one of the open shop centers where the American plan finds its most enthusiastic advocates. The other newspapers are however, strictly union. In a Labor Day editorial in 1927, Mr. Chandler wrote, "By a sort of poetic justice the very epithet with which that principle's enemies sought to ruin Los Angeles a generation and a half ago became its most effective and alluring advertisement, one which has meant more to the city and its prosperity than ever conceived by its most talented and enthusiastic laureates." Today Mr. Chandler stands as the leader of the open shop advocates and after years of effort has succeeded in gaining recognition for that group in the Association.

<sup>22</sup> Mr. McCone had gained notoriety during this

session in which the open shop members claimed that they were entitled to a service similar to the closed shop members, while the closed shop members who were in majority, were hesitant, fearing that contractual relations with the unions might be affected, the following resolutions were passed, creating the Open Shop Division:

"Whereas the Open Shop Division of the Typothetae has proved a source of strength and benefit to the job printers, and frequently to the newspaper publisher in his time of need,<sup>23</sup> therefore we believe the time has arrived when the American Newspaper Publishers' Association should set up an open shop division to be maintained and operated without opposition or prejudice to any other department of the organization, such a division to constitute a unit of the organization to which publishers who wish to establish and maintain open shop conditions in the mechanical departments may turn for aid.

"Therefore, be it resolved, That the Board of Directors be instructed to proceed at once to set up an open shop division of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association under such conditions as will enable it to become a substantial aid to members who desire permanently to operate under open shop conditions, it being definitely understood that this department is under no circumstances to be used as a strike breaking organization."<sup>24</sup>

The last clause was interpreted rather cryptically to mean that the Open Shop Division would not help newspapers having trouble with the trade unions unless they were planning permanently to run open shops. The committee appointed to formulate a plan consisted of D. D. Moore

period because of his sensational accusations before the U. S. Senate Investigating Committee on Newsprint (1920) that the International Typographical Union dominated the editorial and advertising policy of newspapers. This was the only meeting Mr. McCone ever attended.

<sup>23</sup> The most outstanding case was in New Orleans in 1915 when Commissioner Flagg of the Open Shop Division of the United Typothetae of America at no cost to that division assisted the New Orleans *Times Picayune* in a strike.

<sup>24</sup> The *New York Times*, April 18, 1922.

(*Times-Picayune*) Harry Chandler and W. A. Elliot (*Jacksonville Times-Union*). H. W. Flagg, formerly of the Open Shop Division of the United Typothetae of America, was appointed Secretary, and an office was opened in Philadelphia. Each year the Chairman has reported gains in membership.

All members of the Association operating open or non-union shops are invited to join and whenever possible to pledge themselves to furnish one or more men at the call of the executive secretary to work in any office where there is trouble. Employers asking aid are to make the necessary financial provisions for expenses incurred through the Open Shop headquarters. In addition to guaranteeing a crew of competent printers at a few hours' notice,<sup>28</sup> the Division offers to give advice to employers desiring to change from a union shop to an open shop by sharing the experience of other open shop offices. It claims as benefits for members more contented workers, smaller labor turnover, greater efficiency, greater co-operation, and no loss in production from strikes. In the words of its chairman, the chief work of the Open Shop Division is considered to be the "protection of the members of the Association from the constantly and ever increasing demands of the various printing trades unions." Together with the Employing Printers Association in the book and job branch it is an active participant in the American Plan Open Shop Conference.

A certain unity in labor policy is maintained through the Special Standing

<sup>28</sup> The strength of this policy can be seen in the last report (1928) of the Chairman of the Committee on Open Shop which states, "At the present time there are several cities in which contracts have expired or are about to expire, that have called upon this office to be prepared to aid them in case of trouble." *Editor and Publisher and the Fourth Estate*, April 28, 1928.

Committee which furnishes information when called for to open shop members as well as closed shop members, and which issues a bulletin service on labor conditions to all members.

It is still too soon to predict what effects the new Division will have on the policy of the Association—whether or not its 25 years of successful experience as a negotiating body will be nullified or whether the Association can survive with two such divergent bodies claiming its support. At the present time the non-union and open shop members are still in the minority<sup>29</sup> and whether or not they will gain in influence will depend in large part on the character of the chain and consolidation movements and the attitude of the union towards the controversial points mentioned above.

Another new department which may or may not be aimed directly at weakening the trade unions is the Printing Trades School Committee. Although the United Typothetae of America has been concerned over the apprentice situation for many years, no action dealing with apprentices had been considered by the American Newspaper Publishers' Association until 1923 when a resolution was passed committing the Association to the sponsorship of trade schools for the instruction and training of printers, operators, and other craftsmen in the printing trades, and favoring the establishment of regional schools in several sections of the United States and Canada to be financed by newspapers in those districts with some aid from the national Association. That this move was tinged with anti-union

<sup>29</sup> *Editor and Publisher and the Fourth Estate*, April 24, 1926.

Daily newspapers published.....	Union	Non-union
Circulation (daily)...	2,133	792
Circulation (Sunday)...	34,393,451	4,930,860
	23,008,592	1,787,354



sentiment can be seen in the 1924 report of the Printing Trade Schools' Committee which urged employers to employ their full quota of apprentices, saying that the employer who "fails to do so, is as much a menace to the newspaper business as the union." It included as an aim, the promotion and development of printing trade schools "to make more journeymen and better journeymen, and to keep down the arbitrary and unjust demands of the trade unions for a wage in a few years which, were present conditions to continue, would become prohibitive."<sup>27</sup> A canvass of the membership showed that the publishers with union contracts were not availing themselves of their apprenticeship quotas permitted by the unions, employing in some cases less than 50 per cent of the number.

During its 40 years of life, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association has performed many valuable services which are of increasing importance as production costs increase and as legal problems surrounding the industry become more complex. Roughly these services can be classified as dealing with raw material, machinery, labor, traffic, postal rates, advertising, radio, trade schools, and governmental relations, which, except for the advertising bureau, are financed by the Association. As far back as the days of Roosevelt it was fighting the "paper trust" and secured a promise from him to recommend the abolition of the tariff on newsprint, and again in 1917 it was assisting the Department of Justice in the prosecution of the paper manufacturers under the Sherman Act. During the war it cooperated with the Federal Trade Commission to fix the price of newsprint and with the War Industries Board to reduce the consumption of newsprint.

On the other hand, it was just as active in fighting the provisions of the Espionage Act. Since then, its representatives in Washington have tried to secure a downward revision of postal rates for hauling mails, and it is now involved in a conspiracy case before the Federal Trade Commission with several other organizations, charged with attempt to regulate the granting of commissions to advertising agents.

The government of the Association has remained practically unchanged since it was organized. The Board of Directors which is elected by the convention to serve for a term of two years was enlarged to fourteen members in 1925. It includes the usual four officers (president, vice president, secretary and treasurer) who serve for a term of one year but who may be re-elected. The Association has no way of enforcing its by-laws which have "nothing compulsory about them." There is an annual business meeting in New York in April and a "get-together" meeting in the south in November.

Though there has been a steady growth in membership, only about one-fourth of the daily newspapers in the country belong to the Association. Recently there has been a movement to increase the membership in order to make it more representative and thus to decentralize the control which is now in the hands of the large centers. To further this policy, the dues were lowered in 1925 for newspapers having a circulation of 20,000, while at the same time they were increased for the larger papers, in order to meet the growing expenses caused by the creation of two new departments, the mechanical department and the traffic department. In 1927 the monthly dues for all members were set at \$12 per typesetting machine with an additional fee of \$50 for papers with a circulation under 5,000; \$75 for papers

<sup>27</sup> *New York Times*, April 24, 1924.

with a circulation between 5,000 and 10,000; and \$25 for each cent of national advertising rates for papers with a circulation over 10,000.

In a sense, the situation in the newspaper industry to-day is furnishing a test case for the principle of national collective bargaining. Failure to continue the arbitration agreement with the International Typographical Union after a successful experiment covering a period of 21 years can only discourage other trade associations from including labor activities among their functions; whereas, the renewal of the arbitration agreement in some form would fortify the faith of those who consider national collective bargaining an agent for industrial peace and a step in the evolution of self-government in industry which can only be attained through the cooperation of trade associations with national unions.

At present, there are various conflicting factors at work within the Association. Effort to enlarge the membership will, if successful, bring into the Association many small newspapers which customarily have an open shop bias and which operate under widely divergent conditions; while on the other hand, the growth of the merger movement and the development of the newspaper chains may result in the appearance of closer bargaining units. The formation of the Open Shop Division with its anti-union policy, eager to

recruit new members through assistance in time of labor difficulties, endangers industrial peace, though its members claim that its existence checks the growth of militant unionism. To offset it, is the inherited tradition for the judicial method of settling disputes, in part expressed by consistent refusal of the Association to set aside a defense fund. And lastly, there is the question as to whether, if the open shop gains momentum, the Association may not have to abandon a labor policy as endangering the unity necessary for its other activities just as the United Typothetae of America did. Much, also, will depend upon the growing strength and attitude of the International Typographical Union, the leader among the printing trades unions, in its willingness to compromise and to adjust its demands to changing conditions. Whatever the outcome, at least the long experience in industrial jurisprudence has left an indelible imprint on the industry and has established an important tradition for the conduct of local negotiations.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> During 1927-1929 there were 253 typographical contracts on file in the Indianapolis office of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, a majority of which provided for some kind of arbitration. There were 134 individual contracts with the compositors. New contracts for the year were as follows: Compositors, 90; Pressmen, 39; Stereotypers, 39; Photo-engravers, 6; Mailers, 4; Total, 178. *Editor and Publishers and the Fourth Estate*, April 28, 1928.

### SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS announces that Volume II will begin with the January, 1930 issue and that hereafter each volume will carry thirteen numbers—twelve monthly issues and an annual index. The price is \$6.00 per year. A few sets of Volume I are still available. Dr. F. Stuart Chapin is the editor, with offices in Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

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## INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

	PAGE
Children.....	Ernest R. Groves 296
Bronner, Baylor, and Murphy's RECONSTRUCTING BEHAVIOR IN YOUTH; Thomas and Thomas' THE CHILD IN AMERICA; Miller's THE CHILD IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY; Zachry's PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENTS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN; Pyle's TRAINING CHILDREN; Schmucker's HEREDITY AND PARENTHOOD.	
Scientific Romanticism.....	Frank H. Hankins 298
Spengler's THE DECLINE OF THE WEST.	
Phases of Spanish American Social Thought.....	L. L. Bernard 300
Garcia's HISTORIA DEL ECUADOR; Mantilla's CRÓNICA HISTÓRICA DE LA PROVINCIA DE CORRIENTES; Gandia's HISTORIA DEL GRAN CHACO; Revello's ENSAYO BIOGRÁFICO SOBRE JUAN DE SOLORZANO PEREIRA; Currier's LOS CORSARIOS DEL RIO DE LA PLATA; Rc's BELGRANO; Mendilaharsu's ROSAS; Ayartagaray's LA ANARQUÍA ARGENTINA Y EL CAUDILLISMO; Reyes' LA LABOR DIPLOMÁTICA DE D. MANUEL MARIA DE ZAMACONA, COMO SECRETARIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES; LA PARTICIPACION DE MEXICO EN LA SEXTA CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL AMERICANA; Ayartagaray's EL MINISTERIO PÚBLICO; Ramos' CONFERENCIAS SOBRE EL DERECHO PENAL ARGENTINO; Naón's INVIOABILIDAD DE LA PROPIEDAD MINERA; Castiñeiras' SONADORES Y REALISTAS; Castiñeiras' EL ALMA DE RUSIA; Porce's LA VEJEZ DE SARMIENTO; Viamonte's JORNADAS; Doll's ENSAYOS Y CRÍTICAS.	
Stock Taking in Economic Affairs.....	Erich W. Zimmerman 305
Committee on Recent Economic Changes of the President's Conference, RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES	
A New Era in Sociology.....	Carl C. Taylor 307
Sorokin and Zimmerman's PRINCIPLES OF RURAL-URBAN SOCIOLOGY.	
Psychology and Society.....	L. L. Bernard 308
Hobhouse's MIND IN EVOLUTION; Hingston's INSTINCT AND INTELLIGENCE; Sherman and Sherman's THE PROCESS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR; Dorsey's THE HOWS AND WHYS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR; Pillsbury and Meador's THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE; Dimnet's THE ART OF THINKING; Kohler's GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY; Murchison's SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL DOMINATION; Kantor's AN OUTLINE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY; Mukerjee and Sen-Gupta's INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: MIND IN SOCIETY; Coe's THE MOTIVES OF MEN; Lasker's RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN; Grimberg's EMOTION AND DELINQUENCY; Uren's RECENT RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY; Florence's ECONOMICS AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR; COMMUNITY CONFLICT.	
The Changing County.....	Carl E. McCombs 313
Hoffer's COUNTIES IN TRANSITION.	
Needed: A Sociology of the Frontier.....	Rupert B. Vance 315
Crane's THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER: 1670-1732; Hulbert's FRONTIERS: THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY	
Lévy-Bruhl's THE "SOUL" OF THE PRIMITIVE.....	Frank H. Hankins 316
Jones' ESSENTIALS OF CIVILIZATION.....	T. J. Wooster, Jr. 317
Fosdick's THE OLD SAVAGE IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION.....	Frank H. Hankins 318
Keezer, Cutler, and Garfield's PROBLEM ECONOMICS.....	Willard L. Thorp 319
Zorbaugh's THE GOLD COAST AND THE SLUM.....	Rupert B. Vance 320
Clarke's THE ART OF STRAIGHT THINKING.....	Frank H. Hankins 321
New Books Received.....	322



## CHILDREN

ERNEST R. GROVES

- RECONSTRUCTING BEHAVIOR IN YOUTH.** By William Healy, Augusta F. Bronner, Edith M. H. Baylor, and J. Prentice Murphy. New York: Knopf, 1929. 325 pp. \$3.25.
- THE CHILD IN AMERICA.** By William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas. New York: Knopf, 1928. 583 pp.
- THE CHILD IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY.** By Nathan Miller. New York: Brentano's, 1928. 307 pp. \$3.00.
- PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENTS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.** By Caroline B. Zachry. New York: Scribner, 1929. 306 pp.
- TRAINING CHILDREN.** By William Henry Pyle. New York: Century, 1929. 206 pp. \$1.75.
- HEREDITY AND PARENTHOOD.** By Samuel C. Schmucker. New York: Macmillan, 1929. 322 pp. \$2.50.

A new book by Dr. William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner is always an event in the science of human behavior. This particular volume, reinforced by the experience of Edith Baylor and J. Prentice Murphy, is at once recognized as indispensable to all who in any way deal with problems of foster children. The usefulness of the book is not, however, limited to a special group of social workers, for the insight given of the feeling and behavior of children in foster homes is largely applicable to all children and the care with which this material has been gathered gives it authority as a source of information regarding child life. It is largely an application of mental hygiene principles to the needs of children, and the student of human nature will make large use of this book.

Those who are particularly interested in family relationships will also find this book a mine of wealth. It is, for example, reassuring to know that the authors believe that children whatever their problems should nearly always be placed in foster homes before going to institutions. It is also interesting to have the

authors say that the love of children is so pronounced that it is possible to place almost any child whatever his personality and the nature of his difficulty. The book gives in detail illustrations of the treatment problem children receive when properly dealt with and what is said regarding children who steal brings out the little value of attempting to classify the motives for conduct when one is actually confronted with some sort of maladjustment. This proves as true in dealing with family difficulties as in dealing with children. The theorist may be satisfied to draw out what he regards a compelling motive with the problem, but if any practical progress is ever made in dealing with the problem, such an analysis has to be put aside and the relationship treated as a situation complex in its causes, ranging over wide stretches in the careers of all concerned. Discomforting as this fact is to the student who is trying to reduce human behavior to a formula, it happens to be in accord with life and when either sociology or psychology is put to the test of practice the significance of what the authors say about this particular juvenile problem of stealing shows itself for every sort of social situation.

The social worker will, perhaps, be most concerned with part three of the book "The Technique of Child Placing," but the sociologist is more likely to stress part two, presenting chapters on "General Discussion of Treatment," "Stealing," "Running Away," "Truancy and Other Delinquencies," "Problems of Sex," "Habit Problems," "Problems of Mentality," "Psychiatric Principles in Foster Home Care." It is significant that the chances of success of foster children, as

studied in this investigation, is as five to one, providing the children are normal. On the other hand, the authors' statement that we have at present little knowledge of how to deal with the abnormal in our processes of reconstructing behavior tells us where to look for the sore spot of our civilization.

*The Child in America* is almost an encyclopaedia of the studies of children and various programs of child service now carried on in the United States. The book by happy inspiration is dedicated to Mrs. W. F. Dummer, whose quiet but effective contributions to pioneering social undertakings in America most certainly deserve recognition. The book is divided into three parts, "Varieties of Maladjustment," "Practical Programs," and "Research Programs."

The revolution that is taking place in society's method of dealing with the child's interest is made impressive by the very size of this book, yet those who are acquainted with the special divisions of the general field will realize the force of the authors' statement that they have not recorded all experiments now going on in child study and child care, but have made a selection of what to them seemed the most significant.

*The Child in Primitive Society*, a book long needed by students of children and primitive society alike, is sure of a hearty welcome. Important as it is to know more about child life in primitive culture, the material is so widely scattered that the task of the author to bring it together and at the same time do justice to the environmental differences of the various tribes and levels of culture is a difficult one. The book gives evidence that sociology is being drawn irresistibly closer to the study of children as the medium through which culture chiefly passes. Nothing can convey more clearly

to the reader the character of this book than its purpose as defined by the author.

The purpose here is not to enquire into the inner processes of learning, habit-formation and acculturation in the child himself, but our aim is rather to examine the social milieu as it impinges upon the child—in other words, the customs and institutions which emerge as the educational systems of society later in the course of development. The purpose is to delineate the gradual trimming or fashioning of the child's social existence by these social forces. The folkways as receptive adjustments to the fact of the child as a newcomer into the tribal life are to be considered, and also the processes by which the child assumes his cultural heritage.

*Personality Adjustments of School Children* is another attack on the general problem of understanding child maladjustment. It is drawn from the school practices and experiences of the children taught by the author in Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University. How different in both spirit and content public education would be if teachers generally would read a book like this and let it get under their skin! Possibly it is the superintendents who need it most. In the introduction we have again the stressing of the need of a complete study of the child rather than concentrating upon the outward expression of some difficulty of adjustment. The chapter titles illustrate the content of the book: "The Necessity for a Complete Study of the Child," "The Troublesome Child," "The Quiet Over-Conscientious Child," "The Child with Polyglandular Difficulty," "The Over-Dependent Child," "The Over-Anxious Child (Fears)," "The Elements of Personality and Their Development," "Personality Adjustment and the School."

*Training Children* attempts the discussion of the principles of child training and their practical application. The reaction of many readers closely connected with the everyday life of children if they read this book will be that it has a prejudiced

view of children and altogether too much about original man. For example,

Children are selfish. At the dining table, for example, they would, without training, act much as pigs and dogs do when fed. Until children are trained to be kind and unselfish, they are constantly quarreling and fighting (p. 12.)

The author in the introduction expresses his desire to avoid propaganda, but in spite of this he is liberal with statements that are nothing but personal opinions. The force of this will strike almost anyone who reads a few pages of this book after having studied *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth*. It is a book that I would not want the teachers of children to read, for I would fear that it would make educators all the more complacent in their idea that children are putty—bad putty at that—that desperately needs remodeling.

When the publishers state that Dr. Schmucker's book, *Heredity and Parenthood*, is a sane and wise discussion of the problems of eugenics as related to practical life they did not overstress the quality of

this book. Regarding the accuracy of some chapters it is, of course, only the biologist who can speak with authority, but the material that is essentially sociological is not only thoroughly scientific but written most interestingly, and with real literary skill. It enters the territory in which the reader is most likely to find sentimentality rampant. This common fault is absent from such chapter discussions as "Children's Love Affairs," "The Age of Romance," "What Shall We Tell Our Children?" "The Bachelor and the Spinster," and "When All Goes Well." Could anything else prove how well the author has met his testing? Although the author has one eye on science he has kept the other on life. For example, although we do not yet have any adequate book of counsel for those who must accept the tragedy of surrendering the normal urge for marriage, I have never read a more concrete stating of this problem, or wiser counsel than the author's discussion beginning on page 302.

### SCIENTIFIC ROMANTICISM

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE DECLINE OF THE WEST. Volume II, Perspectives of World-History. By Oswald Spengler. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928. xi + 507 + xxxii pp. \$7.50.

Only a mind of prodigious capacities could have produced this work. It is a mind steeped in the learning of the ages, and yet possessed of the sensitive feelings of the poet; capable of penetrating the secrets of the "folk-soul" and yet understanding and manipulating the sophistications of the scholar. The work can scarcely be called history, though this second volume contains a wealth of historical reference. The author seems

not at all concerned with a straightforward and meticulous account of the past; rather, he strives heroically to arrive at some comprehension of the whole human episode. He tells us that his work is "intuitive and depictive," and addressed "solely to readers who are capable of living themselves into the word and sound pictures as they read." He claims to have written "the philosophy of our time, one that is to some extent a natural philosophy and is dimly presaged by all." But one cannot call it a philosophy of history in the sense of an interpretation of history as the expression of some



mystical principle of the attainment of some teleological purpose. He recognizes the essentially subjective nature of his work and declares that it is true at least for him.

In general, *The Decline of the West* is to be placed in that dreamland which borders poetry and philosophy on the one hand and the field of scientific imagination on the other. It is a combination of myth-making and historical synthesis. Perhaps it is a grand allegory of human fate teaching that "the cosmic pulse of life" cannot be controlled by the puny efforts of man; that culture cycles have a form which repeats itself in space and time, but that they have no meaning other than that contained in the daily current of their own lives; that individual life has no cosmic significance; that in the treadmill of time the rise and decay of civilizations is presided over by an inscrutable destiny. "All world-improvers, priests, and philosophers are unanimous in holding that life is a fit object for the nicest meditation, but the life of the world goes its own way and cares not in the least what is said about it. And even when a community succeeds in living 'according to rule,' all that it achieves is, at best, a note on itself in some future history of the world." (p. 17.) The work as a whole is massive and over-powering; it reads slowly and often uncertainly, with here and there cryptic and impenetrable jungles of esoteric references.

There are also many passages of true poetic quality, revealing an author gifted with rare powers of observation and unique sensitivity to aesthetic feelings. Take, for example, the opening paragraphs. "Regard the flowers at eventide as, one after the other, they close in the setting sun. Strange is the feeling that then presses in upon you—a feeling of

enigmatic fear in the presence of this blind dreamlike earth-bound existence. The dumb forest, the silent meadows, etc. Only the gnat is free—he dances still in the evening light, he moves whither he will. An animalcule in a drop of water, too tiny to be perceived by the human eye, though it lasts but a second and has but a corner of this drop as its field—nevertheless is *free and independent in the face of the universe*. The giant oak, upon whose leaves the droplet hangs, is not." There are a multitude of passages clean-cut in form, some of them almost brutal in force, and containing penetrating judgments and interpretations.

Obviously only an expert in universal history can write a competent review of such a work,—that is, assuming that any one can do more than state a few impressions of it. A basic assumption of Spengler is that every culture cycle passes from youth to old age, from the pregnant spring to the golden autumn of its destined form. It begins in a formless and nebulous era, arrives at its age of culture, at length attains to civilization, and then dies. The culture era is one of blood and sex, of physical vigor and reproductive fruitfulness, of heroism and adventure, of developed nobility and priesthood. It is an era of religiousness and artistic creativeness, when the gods rule, when belief in destiny controls the thoughts and actions of men. The era of civilization is especially characterized by the growth of cities; "world history is city-history," and "the peasant is historyless." The prime estates—nobility and priesthood—give way to a rule of the bourgeois populace; there is a decline of adventure and spontaneous creativeness and variability; there is an increase of standardization and a growth of scepticism regarding all that was previously held to be sacred, inspiring, and rich in emotional values.

Civilization is thus an era of intellectual sophistication; an era when the idea of causality and the calculation of utilitarian practicality control thought and action. It becomes an era of the dictatorship of money, which at length reduces even the engineers and technicians who create its machines to subservience to its own logic. Money rule and its political tool, democracy, are at length overcome by Caesarism. The end of the cycle is now near at hand. Contacts with nature have been lost; motherhood is flouted, and extensive depopulation sets in. "The whole pyramid of cultural man vanishes. It crumbles from the summit, first the world cities, then the provincial forms, and finally the land itself, whose best blood has incontinently poured into the towns, merely to bolster them up awhile. At the last, only the primitive blood remains, alive, but robbed of its strongest and most promising elements. This residue is the *Fellab type*." (p. 105.)

We are thus now in the midst of our era of civilization, and Spengler sees the handwriting of fate on the wall. But since the civilized man is a born sceptic, one may be privileged to doubt, however much he may have been impressed with Spengler's powers of synthesis, his keen insights and his depth of feeling. There

is not in his whole work any recognition of the vast difference in the foundation of our civilization and that of all that have preceded it. True, he contends that every civilization is *sui generis*, and that few there be (that is, besides himself) able to penetrate to the inner essence of an alien culture. Nevertheless, he does not note that ours is the first civilization in which the conscious pursuit of knowledge by well-attested methods of scientific research became the absorbing pursuit of a galaxy of the best minds. Moreover, science is still in its infancy; in that lies the hope of our salvation. Its power to renovate and purify the postulates of the romantic age, the culture era, back of us has as yet scarcely begun. We seem to be approaching an era of world peace and organization, an era of the manhood of humanity as a whole. We may, perhaps, have less romance but more common sense, less mysticism but more scientific prevision. In any case, we might as well, even on Spengler's postulates of an inscrutable destiny, be optimistic about it and look forward to a renewed vigor for the stream of culture. All things considered it seems as probable that the distant future will see in our era the springtime of a new cycle of world history as that it shall see us as the ripened and decaying fruit of western culture.

## PHASES OF SPANISH AMERICAN SOCIAL THOUGHT

L. L. BERNARD

- HISTORIA DEL ECUADOR, PART I. By Emilio Uzategui García. Quito: Talleres Tipográficos Nacionales, 1929. 203 pp.
- CRÓNICA HISTÓRICA DE LA PROVINCIA DE CORRIENTES. By Manuel Florencio Mantilla. Buenos Aires: Espiase y Cia, 1928. 2 vols. CXXXXIX + 374, 528 pp.
- HISTORIA DEL GRAN CHACO. By Enrique de Gandia. Buenos Aires: Juan Roldan y Cia. 207 pp.
- ENSAYO BIOGRÁFICO SOBRE JUAN DE SOLÓRZANO

- PEREIRA. By José Torre Revello. Buenos Aires: La Universidad, 1929. 25 + liv pp.
- LOS CORSARIOS DEL RIO DE LA PLATA. By Theodore S. Currier. Buenos Aires: La Universidad, 1929. 65 + xvii pp.
- BELGRANO. By Dante Re. Buenos Aires: A Baiocco y Cai, 1929. 95 pp.
- ROSAS. By Dardo Corvalan Mendilaharsu. Buenos Aires: M. Gleizer, 1929. 253 pp. 2.50 pesos.
- LA ANARQUÍA ARGENTINA Y EL CAUDILLISMO: ESTUDIO

- PSICOLÓGICO DE LOS ORIGINES ARGENTINOS. By Lucas Ayarragaray. Buenos Aires: J. Lajouane y Cia. xvi + 307 pp.
- LA LABOR DIPLOMATICA DE D. MANUEL MARIA DE ZAMACONA, COMO SECRETARIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES. Edited by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes. Mexico: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928. xxv + 161 pp. 3 pesos.
- LA PARTICIPACIÓN DE MEXICO EN LA SEXTA CONFERENCIA INTERNACIONAL AMERICANA. Mexico: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1928. 271 pp.
- EL MINISTERIO PUBLICO. By Carlos A. Ayarragaray. Buenos Aires: J. Lajouane y Cia, 1928. xiv + 336 pp.
- CONFERENCIAS SOBRE EL DERECHO PENAL ARGENTINO. By Juan P. Ramos. Buenos Aires: La Universidad, 1929. 117 pp.
- INVIOLEABILIDAD DE LA PROPIEDAD MINERA (with appendix). By Dr. Romulo S. Naón. Buenos Aires: Editorial Muro, 1928. 2 vols. 283; 32 pp.
- SOÑADORES Y REALISTAS. By Alejandro Castilleiras. Buenos Aires: Editorial La Vanguardia, 1928. 271 pp.
- EL ALMA DE RUSIA: EL DOLOR EN LA LITERATURA Y EN LA VIDA DEL PUEBLO RUSSO. By Alejandro Castilleiras. Buenos Aires: Agencia General de Libreria y Publicaciones. 253 pp.
- LA VEJEZ DE SARMIENTO. By Anibal Ponce. Buenos Aires: L. J. Rosso, 1927. 233 pp.
- JORNADAS. By Carlos Sánchez Viamonte. Buenos Aires: J. Samet, Editor, 1929. 156 pp. 2 pesos.
- ENSAYOS Y CRITICAS. By Ramon Doll. Buenos Aires: Nosotros, 1929. 77 pp.

## I

There is no part of the world richer in history and in the romance of the struggle for civilization against nature and man than the old Spanish dominions in America. Ecuador, because of its location and the circumstances of its development, well exemplifies the severity of this struggle. Uzcategui Garcia's *History of Ecuador*, although elementary and incomplete, gives to the reader a graphic and comprehensive perspective of civilization in that land for its first two hundred years. The method used in this book is equal to the best employed in modern historical writing and interpretation. In the early parts archaeological backgrounds are

stressed and in the latter social life, institutions, literature, art, exploration, and ideas are emphasized. This work is decidedly symptomatic of the great advances in education that are at present being made in Latin America.

## II

Historical research is now coming into its own in Latin America, although in justice it must be said that there have been great historians and historical researchers there as long as elsewhere in America. These peoples have produced a rich historical literature, but in the past it has been almost exclusively the result of individual energy and initiative. The late Manuel Florencio Mantilla's *Historical Chronicle of the Province of Corrientes* is a monument both to the author's genius and patience and to the Argentine province whose development it describes. Its mastery of detail is excellent and the author's grasp of the organic relation of Corrientes to the history of the general region of the La Plata is profound. The history of Corrientes, although one of the early settled regions of South America, has sometimes been overshadowed by that of the maritime provinces of Argentine. But the present work, because of its completeness and its high quality of readability, will restore this province to adequate attention. More than 130 pages of biography of the author by his sons, Juan Ramon and Rafael D. Mantilla, (the editors) add greatly to the interest and value of the book.

Another region of Argentina, the Great Chaco, or the inner plain, extending from the upper Paraná across to Bolivia, is also coming increasingly into attention, as its savage Indians are tamed by the missionary and educator and as the country is reduced to agriculture. Dr. Enrique de Gandia's excellent and scholarly



history of this region is extremely well documented and is perhaps the best account of the early history and archaeology of this territory. His study of the Indians of this region and of the Spanish, and later of the Argentine and Paraguayan settlement and exploitation of the country, are painstaking and accurate, making use of the best documentary sources in Spain and South America. Moreover, the book is like most Spanish-American history, decidedly readable.

Two important monographs emanating from the new Institute of Historical Investigation of the University of Buenos Aires are *The Corsairs of the River La Plata* by Theodore S. Currier, of Simmons College, Boston, and a *Biographical Essay on Juan de Solorzano Peireira* by Jose Torre Revello of Argentina. Both of these studies reveal the technical procedure of the trained historian. The former portrays connections, especially of a commercial sort, between North and South America, and the latter political relations between Spain and her colonies in the seventeenth century.

### III

Two other works dealing with Argentina, both largely biographical, are Professor Dante Re's Belgrano and Dardo Corvalan Mendilaharsu's *Rosas*. The former was written for advanced students in the public schools and for general readers. It is, of course, the story of Argentine independence centering around the great moving spirit of that struggle, the patriotic and consecrated Belgrano, who so much resembled in character and deed our own Washington. This book is excellently written and should be translated into English. It should also be read in Spanish classes in our schools. The work on *Rosas* by Corvalan Mendilaharsu is a very serious attempt to recon-

struct the modern perspective upon one of the most disputed personalities in Argentine history. Until recently Rosas, who ruled Argentina autocratically for the twenty years preceding his overthrow in 1852, has been regarded as a bloody and cruel tyrant. The present writer marshals a large amount of data, interestingly presented, to show that there was at least another side to his character and that this was probably dominant. This work will undoubtedly be largely read. The author is a trained historian.

One of the great psychological and sociological interpreters of a history in Argentina is Lucas Ayarragaray and his *Argentine Anarchy and Tyranny* is one of the very best studies in the origins of Argentine political institutions. The author is a scholar with leisure who has devoted his life to the study of Argentine institutions with the most happy results. Like most of the scholars among his fellow countrymen, he has been fascinated by the problem of the peculiar social and political history of Argentina. Ingenieros attempted to explain it sociologically. Ayarragaray attacks it psycho-sociologically. He is concerned not alone with Rosas (whom he regards less favorably than the preceding writer) nor with any other tyrants as such, but with the explanation of the peculiar economic, psychological, traditional, and political conditions which made "bossism" a national institution in Argentina, as it was a municipal institution in the United States. This volume is of very great importance sociologically.

### IV

Another, the twenty-eighth, important volume in the Archives of the History of Mexican Diplomacy has appeared under the title of *The Diplomatic Labors of Don Manuel Maria de Zamacona as Secretary of Foreign Relations*. This volume covers that im-

portant and exciting period in the summer of 1861 when the European powers were preparing to take possession of Mexico. The Editor, Antonio de la Pena y Reyes, has selected and arranged the documents admirably to bring out the significant crises in the situation. He has also prepared a biography of nearly twenty pages of Señor Zamacona, of whose work he thinks highly, in spite of the fact that Zamacona and the great Mexican patriot, Juárez (who was then president) were not always in harmonious accord. The documents may, however, speak for themselves. Another publication of the Mexican government, particularly timely, is the summary of *The Participation of Mexico in the Sixth American International Conference*, held at Havana in 1928. The avowed object of the publication is to inform the public regarding the part played by Mexico in regard to questions of international law, uniform legislation, international communication, intellectual coöperation, economic and social problems, the discussion of treaties, etc., and to prepare the public mind for the seventh international conference. Both of these volumes, and particularly the latter, is highly symptomatic of the present intellectual regime in Mexico under the leadership of the new liberal presidents. Mexico seems destined to recover its high place in American culture.

## V

Another work of first rate importance in Argentine social science, this time in the field of public administration, is Carlos A. Ayarragary's *The Public Ministry*, having the imprint of the old and important publishing firm of J. Lajouane y Cia, and an introduction by the renowned professor Tomás Jofré of the University of Buenos Aires. It

is an excellent treatment of the history, organization, and functioning of the administration of justice in all its grades and phases in the republic of Argentina. There are also comparative chapters on the administration of justice in France, Italy, England, the United States, and Spain. There is also a valuable bibliography. This is a book which students of administrative law in the United States cannot afford to be without. Equally valuable is the more specialized treatment of *Argentine Penal Law* by Juan P. Ramos, consisting of a series of lectures on this subject delivered early in 1929 at the University of Rome by the distinguished Argentine jurist and professor. Dr. Ramos is the first Latin American scholar to be invited to lecture at the University of Rome and his invitation came at the instance of the late Enrico Ferri, whose jurisprudence Dr. Ramos had done so much to have recognized in his own country. Dr. Ramos is undoubtedly the first authority in his field of Argentine criminal law and its administration, and these lectures set forth succinctly the main facts regarding the machinery of the law, its procedure, content, evolution, and problems, with special reference to reforms established and in process. Incidentally, Dr. Ramos is the center of a group of investigators in the field of the criminal law who are interested in much the same problems as Pound and Wigmore have been connected with in this country.

Two other more detailed studies of Argentine law, this time in the field of mining jurisprudence, are Dr. Romulo S. Naon's case studies on *The Inviolability of Mining Property*, which should prove valuable to North American lawyers interested in South American mining

codes. Dr. Naon is well known in the United States through his diplomatic services here.

## VI

One of the fields in which skilled Latin American writers are best is the sympathetic interpretation of personalities and of literary and artistic movements. Perhaps the reason is in part that they are as peoples so cosmopolitan. Also they retain in their own personalities a larger share of emotional response and insight into character than is characteristic of many writers in more commercialized nations. Castiñeiros' *Dreamers and Realists* is a happy study of the great dreamers of a better order of mankind, from Plato to Lenin and the author's own countryman, Juan B. Justo, who died in 1928. The treatment of the ideas and work of such men as More, Campanella, Morelly, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Cabet, Leroux, Proudhon, Blanc, Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bebel, Juarez, and Iglesias, to mention the best known, has a freshness and lightness of touch, and a broad humanitarian approach, that is not often visible in our own writings on these men. The book is good literature and has sufficient depth to render it of value to the student even more than to the propagandist. The same author has produced in *The Soul of Russia* a work very popular in Latin America. This book has been awarded distinguished prizes and widely praised by the critics. Its central theme is the emphasis upon grief and suffering in the popular literature of Russia which so frequently comes to the surface with its expressions of idealism. Dostoevski is taken as the most pronounced type of this popular literature and a good analysis of his writings and slavophil sentiments follows a larger treatment of Russian

literature from 1800 to 1881. Recently there has been a strong pro-Russian sentiment in Latin-America, particularly in the lower half of South America, and this book has done much to set the background for a better artistic and psychological understanding of this civilization. The treatment in this volume is highly analytical and scholarly. The author has an excellent knowledge of the history as well as of the art of Russia.

*The Old Age of Sarmiento*, by the able editor of the Argentine *Revista de Filosofia*, Anibal Ponce, gives title to a volume which also contains penetrating critical studies of Amadeo Jacques, Nicolas Avellaneda (the president and publicist who followed Sarmiento as Chief Executive of the Argentine Nation), Lucio Mansilla, Eduardo Wilde, Lucio Lopez (son of the great historian), and Miguel Cané, whom the author says typified Argentine life in the eighties. Ponce is one of the ablest of the younger generation of philosophers and critics in Argentina and has preserved the notion still extant in Latin countries that philosophy should have at least as much to do with life as with logic. In this volume he has taken the men here listed—so typical of Argentine ideas and culture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—and has used them as vehicles of interpretation of a period in Argentine civilization. In this way he has achieved both an interesting and a valuable book, informative alike for Argentine and stranger. But he has done more than interpret an epoch of transition in a national culture; he has also painted vivid, living portraits of some of the most interesting characters in Latin American civilization.

## VII

Two other leading critics of life and ideas in Argentina are Carlos Sánchez



Viamonte, Editor of *Saggitaria* and professor in the University of La Plata, and Ramon Doll of the staff of *Nosotros*, the leading Argentine review of literature and affairs. Both of these men are interested primarily in the present, of which they are keen interpreters and outspoken critics. Men are still relatively free in Argentina, and Sánchez Viamonte has spoken with decision in *Jornadas* regarding the literature and art, religion, international affairs, the North American shadow, the effect of city life upon culture, patriotism, universities, the clouding of the political and

intellectual horizon in Peru and Chile, and the work of such intellectual leaders as Ingenieros, Palacios, and Ricardo Rojas. Doll's *Essays and Criticisms*, like the former work, is a collection of occasional pieces dealing with the literature, art, politics, and civilization of the times. The articles on feminine literature, political radicalism in Argentina, and Rivarola's Political Ethics and the Argentine Constitution appear to the reviewer to be especially keen and incisive. Both of these books offer excellent glances into Argentine culture and ideas for those who like sometimes to read while they run.

## STOCK TAKING IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

ERICH W. ZIMMERMAN

**RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES.** Report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, of the President's Conference on Unemployment, Herbert Hoover, Chairman, including the reports of a special staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929. 2 vols. 950 pp. \$7.50.

Force begets change and change is at one and the same time the manifestation of force spent and the source of new force. The relation between force and change, however, is no closer than that between the social and the economic world. The reader of *Social Forces*, therefore, the student of social forces, does not have to be told that he is apt to profit a great deal from the perusal of two volumes devoted to a systematic, comprehensive, and "up to the minute" analysis of recent—1922–1929—economic changes in the United States and loaded to the plimsoll line with solid facts and sound reasoning, made palatable by skilful writers and lucid by all the arts of modern statistical presentation.

The work has been called Herbert Hoover's Pocket Domesday Book. It is

Herbert Hoover's in the sense that he as Secretary of Commerce and as chairman of the committee in charge of the volume contributed materially to the success of the undertaking. The "pocket" part must be taken with a grain of salt if serious harm to wearing apparel is to be avoided. The two volumes cover no less than 986 pages. But it is more than a Domesday Book. For it is not a survey, an inventory of facts and data; it is a searching probe into change and the cause of change—force; it is not a snapshot of a static condition but a moving picture of a dynamic situation which is marked by continuous and kaleidoscopic change.

The book is the third report which can be traced to the "President's Conference on Unemployment." That itself is an interesting fact. Starting out with the attempt to find the causes of and the remedy for the unemployment which accompanied the collapse of the post-war boom and the subsequent depression, this conference soon discovered that in this

complex modern world of ours everything is interrelated. So from unemployment they spread out to the business cycle and, finding that that patient scapegoat could not possibly be blamed for all evils, they widened the scope still further and analyzed the dynamic nature of the modern economic system. In doing so they incidentally discovered a new species of unemployed, "the technological unemployed"—the jobless worker who idles because a new machine works faster or a new process functions better than the old.

The work itself is a magnificent proof of our technological progress if that word can be applied to the new technique of research work. It is a far cry from the patiently plodding book-worm type of scholar, the armchair philosopher who, in hermit-like isolation and through subjective speculation, single-handed tries to solve the riddles of the universe in this work before us. These two volumes are the outcome of what may be considered the grandest scheme of cooperative research effort yet attempted.

Imagine seventeen captains of industry and generals of finance meeting twice a month for over a year, not for a pleasant chat lasting an hour or so but for a two-day conference; imagine scores of economists, engineers, statisticians drawn from such leading institutions as Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, The Institute of Economics, etc., welded into a well-conceived research organization where each man does that for which he is best qualified. Add to that the general cooperation of the National Bureau of Economic Research which in turn is backed by Carnegie and Rockefeller millions and you have an array of experience, knowledge, managerial skill and solvency which can hardly be surpassed.

To do justice to the contents of such a monumental work in the course of a brief

review is an utter impossibility. One might be tempted to use a short cut and tell what was forgotten. But even that task is rendered difficult by the thoroughness of the work. Fortunately, in a sense, the work does not need a reviewer, for in the last seventy pages it contains a review written by no less able an economist than Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University. Moreover, the report of the committee itself covers but fourteen pages and is in itself an excellent summary of the salient facts. Finally, not only each chapter but even each subdivision of chapters contains a brief summary ranging from a paragraph to a couple of pages. Thus in several ways the book has been adapted to the needs of widely varying classes of readers, and has made a survey of its contents relatively easy.

The body of the book is made up of the report of the fact-finding investigators who operated under the general direction of the National Bureau of Economic Research. The chapter headings follow: Consumption and the Standard of Living; Industry; Construction; Transportation; Marketing; Labor; Management; Agriculture; Price Movements and Related Industrial Changes; Money and Credit and Their Effect on Business; Foreign Markets and Foreign Credits; The National Income and Its Distribution.

If it were possible to extract an elixir from this rich mixture of scientific knowledge, experience, and reasoning it might be expressed somewhat as follows: The American economic system is highly dynamic. Change is the order of the day. Prosperity, therefore, which is with us today is not a necessary concomitant of a static situation but may leave us tomorrow unless we manage through careful control to keep in equilibrium the forces of supply and demand. Control puts a premium on leadership and places

grave responsibility on those who exercise it. "To the influence of America's creative minds—the minds of the leaders in government and in education, in re-

search, in management and in labor, in the press, and in the professions—we have come to look in large measure for the maintenance of our economic balance."

## A NEW ERA IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

CARL C. TAYLOR

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL-URBAN SOCIOLOGY. By Pitirim Sorokin and Carl C. Zimmerman. New York: Holt, 1929. 652 pp. \$4.50.

This book, as its title suggests, is an attempt to develop *principles* of rural sociology. It attempts, not merely to be a text book, but a strictly scientific treatise. It is highly critical, historical and statistical in scope and method. It deals with rural sociology first as sociology and secondarily as rural. In fact the establishing of principles of general sociology or laws of social life is its purpose even more than it is to be merely a text book in rural sociology. Comparisons and contrasts between rural and urban phenomena are the only things that constitute it as different from any other book on social theory.

As a treatise on social theory this book stands more or less alone in the field of rural sociology, for few others have even attempted such an approach in this field and none has accomplished it so thoroughly or well.

The materials are presented in five parts. Part I, "Introduction," considers basic principles of sociology, defines the "Rural and Urban Worlds" and discusses the status of the "Farmer-Peasant Class" among other classes. Part II considers the "Bodily and Vital Traits of the Rural-Urban Population." Part III considers "Rural-Urban Intelligence, Experience and Psychological Processes." Part IV presents "A Cross Section of Rural-Urban Behavior, Institutions, and Culture." Part V considers "Rural-Urban Migration"

and also presents a chapter on "Retrospect, Present Situation, and Prospect." The book contains 27 chapters.

The unique characteristics of this book as a treatise in rural sociology are: First, its broad sweep; second, its elaborate documentation; third, its consistent comparison of urban and rural data; and fourth, its highly critical analysis and discussion.

What I mean by its broad sweep is that it presents data from practically all the nations and countries of the world and from all stages of history and culture. It is not a treatise on "American rural social problems" as are practically, if not all, other books in rural sociology, but is a treatise on principles of sociology, which principles apply to rural phenomena everywhere. It unquestionably makes a much needed contribution.

The documentation of the book is an index to the elaborate amount of source materials which were consulted in its construction. Nor do the authors leave with the reader any doubt that these source materials have been thoroughly and critically sifted. The sources range from such early documents as the Sacred Books of the East to the latest researches in all fields which contribute data to social analysis.

The very connotation "Rural Sociology" has always implied a comparison of rural with urban phenomena. This book frankly accepts this fact and uses the method of analysis which carries the comparison between the two bodies of urban and rural facts consistently from beginning to end.



Not only the analysis but the tone of the book is critical. In fact it is almost controversial. The authors undoubtedly justify this method or mood because of what they call fallacies,—preaching and propaganda which have prevailed in other writings in this field.

As admirable as is this piece of work some questions may be raised concerning its treatment at certain points. It is for instance doubtful whether the class "Farmer-Peasant" may not be so broad as to obscure some important distinctions between quite different types of rural people and rural cultures.

At times the authors might be accused of setting up "straw men" in order to destroy them.

The treatise purports to be completely scientific and devoid of speculation and preaching. It is doubtful, however, whether the authors completely escape these bents in such chapters as the ones on "Psychological Process of Rural-Urban Population" (Ch. XIII), "Rural Urban Religious Culture, Beliefs, and Convictions" (Ch. XVIII), "Farmer-Peasant Attitudes of Individualism and Collectivism" (Ch. XXII), and "Retrospect, Present Situation and Prospect" (Ch. XXVII).

In toto, however, this book can be said to be literally a world compendium on rural-urban facts and without question to be the most profound and scholarly treatise yet to appear in the field of rural sociology.

## PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIETY

L. L. BERNARD

- MIND IN EVOLUTION.** 3rd Edition. By L. T. Hobhouse. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1926. xix + 483 pp. 12s/6d.
- INSTINCT AND INTELLIGENCE.** By Major R. W. G. Hingston. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. xv + 296 pp. \$2.50.
- THE PROCESS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR.** By Mandel Sherman and Irene Case Sherman. New York: W. W. Norton, 1929. 227 pp. \$3.00.
- THE HOWS AND WHYS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR.** By G. A. Dorsey. New York: Harper and Bros., 1929. vii + 298 pp.
- THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LANGUAGE.** By Walter B. Pillsbury and Clarence L. Meador. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1928. xi + 306 pp. \$3.00.
- THE ART OF THINKING.** By Ernest Dimnet. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929. xii + 216 pp. \$2.50.
- GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY.** By Dr. Wolfgang Köhler. New York: Horace Liveright, 1929. xi + 403 pp. \$4.00.
- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL DOMINATION.** By Carl Murchison. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1929. x + 210 pp. \$3.50.
- AN OUTLINE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By J. R. Kantor. Chicago: Follett Pub. Co., 1929. xiv + 420 pp. \$2.40.
- INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: MIND IN SOCIETY.** By Radhakamal Mukerjee and Narendra Nath Sen-Gupta. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928. xv + 304 pp. \$3.00.
- THE MOTIVES OF MEN.** By George A. Coe. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. x + 265 pp. \$2.25.
- RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN.** By Bruno Lasker. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929. xvi + 394 pp.
- EMOTION AND DELINQUENCY.** By L. Grimberg. M. D. New York: Brentano's, 1928. ix + 147 pp.
- RECENT RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY.** By A. Rudolph Uren. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. xi + 280 pp. \$3.50.
- ECONOMICS AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR.** By P. Sargant Florence. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1927. 95 pp. \$1.00.
- COMMUNITY CONFLICT (PRELIMINARY ED.)** New York: The Inquiry, 1929. xviii + 156 pp.

The year 1929 produced no very outstanding work in general social psychology, but some of the special treatises, both in the field of the psychology of human nature and in the applications of psychological data to certain fields of

behavior and social organization, were noteworthy. The increased use of the phrase "human behavior" in the titles of books is striking.

## I

A third edition of the late Professor Hobhouse's *Mind in Evolution* leaves the second unchanged, except for the addition of three appendices on the Elberfeld horses, configuration, and instinct in man. These additions indicate that the author's thought was undergoing revision latterly mainly in the direction of greater tolerance for theories of animal intelligence, a growing interest in gestalt psychology, and a keener criticism of the old theories of instinct. In this last field, although essentially an environmentalist, Hobhouse still clung too closely to the Scotch metaphysics of Stout, McDougall, and Wallas, whose influence he acknowledges. He also gives marked credit to the American biologists and comparative psychologists, especially to Jennings and Yerkes, who have given him most material for revision of the viewpoints of his first edition. The method of treatment that has always made this work so illuminating—the constant emphasis upon mind (now almost a strict behavior concept in the author's thinking) as the central mechanism for the adjustment of the organism to its environment and a detailed treatment of the logic of this mental-social adjustment process—remains intact in the present edition.

Hingston's *Instinct and Intelligence* is a case and experimental study of the relative importance of instinct and intelligence in animal behavior. The author's detailed field studies in various parts of the world and his close acquaintance with the literature of his field makes his treatment important, although it might have been vastly improved by a more systematic knowledge of the theory of animal and

human psychology. His concepts of instinct and intelligence are sufficiently sound, but if he had understood the mechanism of learning and of the conditioning of responses (which he does not mention) he would have been spared some errors of overemphasis, both of instinct and of intelligence,—unless indeed he means to include all learned adjustment behavior, and not merely consciously adaptive behavior, under the category of intelligent. He disagrees strongly with the "automatism" of Fabre and insists that there are indubitable signs of intelligent action and foresight, even of purposive planning, among the insects. His cases are confined to the insects and related orders. Regardless of the author's interpretations, this volume is a valuable source book for the student of behavior.

The next two books on human behavior offer an interesting contrast in several ways. *The Process of Human Behavior* by the two Shermans, both trained psychologists, is a scientific account of the development of behavior from one-celled organisms to man. The nervous system is treated as an adjustment mechanism in true behavioristic fashion, and the growth of sensori-motor responses is traced from the coordinations of infancy into that vast complex of responses which in each individual constitutes personality functioning in social situations. There is an extensive review of recent studies of the emotions, with the authors' own experimental observations. The work is standard and one of the best recent studies in the field. Dorsey's *How's and Why's of Human Behavior*, on the other hand, seems to have been written for that large element of the human population which is undoubtedly human but is not able to grasp the full meaning of his earlier book, *Why We Behave like Human Beings*. It is a sort of sequel to this earlier volume, serving

perhaps both as elucidator and as dessert to his numerous reading circle and book club friends and partisans. In it are many pleasant anecdotes, conversations, and ruminations, to say nothing of allusions, literary and otherwise. It should have a large sale, for there are many who can understand it.

## II

For some years there has been a growing interest in the function of language and the technique of thinking as phases of the logic of adjustment of the individual in the social situation. A new logic of behavior appears to be growing up, centering largely around language and other forms of symbolization of meaning. Pillsbury, a well known psychologist, has joined forces with Meador, professor of general linguistics at the University of Michigan, in the hope of working out a sound *Psychology of Language*, which gives adequate recognition to the physiology, anatomy and neurology, as well as to the logic, involved in the growth and functioning of language. To the reviewer the result appears to have justified the experiment. One of the interesting results of the authors' studies is the clear manner in which they bring out the growth of language through the emotional and gesture stages to the intellectual and verbal forms, and the development from tonal and emotional qualities in vocal language to logical organizational and adaptive values, which eventuates into grammar, composition, and rhetoric. The aim of the authors does not appear to have been to produce startling new theories so much as to systematize and evaluate the work done in the field of the psychology of language. Although they border upon the field of the sociology of language—a rich field as yet but little explored—they work primarily from the neurological and physiological and physical approaches.

Dimnet's little book on *The Art of Thinking* is concerned with language as an instrument of thought, but not in a theoretical or scientific way. This book has had a very large sale, due perhaps to its practical character and homely common sense observations. It is also very interestingly written. Perhaps it is by virtue of its style as much as its content and method that it escapes classification with those works on "popular psychology" which would train anyone with the price to be an intellectual or business leader. There is much advice about utilizing newspaper clippings, books, conversation, letter writing in learning to think, and about avoiding imitation, gregariousness, and authoritarianism and utilitarianism in education as obstacles to originality in thinking. Perhaps anyone would profit from reading such a book—unless he were too busy thinking.

At last we have the authoritative text book of the gestalt psychology! But, alas, it turns out to be a treatise on epistemology, and at times so obscurely written that one wonders how even a German should require so much space to becloud some principles which are now pretty generally accepted. The author's particular *bête noire* is behaviorism, which he does not distinguish from extreme Watsonianism. This leads him to a long defense of introspection, which he rightly regards as a method of correcting illusions of direct observation and of the application of experience to observation. What common garden variety of behaviorist would deny this, at the same time that he gave tit for tat in the criticism of unchecked introspection? One of the best things in the book is the author's insistence upon the limitations of purely quantitative methods in psychology, when not supplemented by qualitative and comparative interpretation. There are also, of course, the usual gestalt principles, perhaps



somewhat more systematically stated than ordinarily. The chief criticism of the book, aside from its stylistic defects, should proceed, I believe, from its almost wholly subjective approach. Its epistemology needs to be relieved by some social psychology, just as its metaphysics might properly be connected by a large appeal to sociology and life.

### III

The year's crop of social psychologies is rather disappointing. Murchison's venture is the most decidedly so. It is a droll mixture of popular observations and rather speculative generalizations. His thesis is that "social psychology deals with those human characteristics that make political life inevitable," and apparently it has been the author's aim to present the chief patterns of political behavior as well as some historical theories of political life. "Some of the persistent hypotheses of social psychology" are also examined, but there is no internal evidence that the author has covered the literature adequately or with any especial insight. This is particularly true, for example, in the field of the so-called instincts. He further speaks of the poverty of psychology in the field of social psychology and fears that this latter subject may pass into the hands of the historian, sociologist, economist, and educationalist. To the reviewer this volume appears to be one concrete argument that the field should so pass.

Kantor's *Outline of Social Psychology* is better, but far from perfect. Kantor's mind runs to systematization and intricate organization, which decidedly narrows his reading public. But, on the whole, he has a good grasp of what he calls institutional psychology. In this volume he is half way through his book before he has finished with preliminary observations on the science and conceptions of

social psychology and the biological, anthropological, and cultural backgrounds, and is ready to enter upon the data of social psychology. Only three chapters are devoted to the interaction of individuals and collectivities. Manifestly this is not an introductory text, but it may be read and discussed with much advantage by advanced students of the subject. To a slight extent the author has overcome an interesting apparent earlier tendency to cite no living authority in his bibliographic notes; but the departure is by no means marked in the present instance, certainly not sufficiently so as to indicate that the author is suffering from any inferiority feeling.

Mukerjee and Sen-Gupta's *Introduction* also overshoots the level of the introductory course. The object of the book is, (1) to show how the mental life of man is molded by the group environment into social patterns, and (2) to explain selected and significant forms of group life. The authors approach the subject from both the biological and the psychological standpoint, but the result is decidedly a sociological treatment. The chapter headings of this book are much more indicative of content than of method. The objective of the authors' treatment is informational rather than methodological. Groups, culture, race, social change, crowds, social neuroses, isolation, psychology of progress, are some of the topics which indicate the trend of treatment. The difficultness of the work proceeds rather from condensation than from abstractness of subject matter. The authors cite freely the work of others, but their isolation prevents their references from being always up-to-date.

### IV

In many ways a real book of the year is Coe's *The Motives of Men*. It is not a treatise on human nature, as the wording

of the title might suggest, but an attempt to explain some of the contradictions and conflicts of our current social logic and opinions. Man has lost faith in himself, become cynical, in these latter days and is living largely for the moment and without ultimate purpose. The fundamentalist and the conservative—political, religious, or what not—attribute all this to the doctrine of evolution, to behaviorism and the new psychology, to the displacement of custom and tradition by science. But these are not the causes. Man is torn between the old formalism and (frequently) hypocrisy and the modern ritualism and hypocrisy (business, political, and professional greed), on the one hand, and the new understanding and determination to follow the indications of science and of social welfare, which the old and new dominant orders will not permit him to follow, on the other hand. Thus the cynicism of today resolves itself largely into a fatalistic conviction that the prevailing organization of things will not allow men to live justly and righteously and in the light of the best that is in him, or to acquire a knowledge of the best for himself and society. Take modern advertising in general, or cigarette advertisements in particular, for example. In spite of a somewhat old-fashioned psychology, Professor Coe—as befits a leading light in a theological seminary—bids fair to become a social prophet, even if he must be as often like Jeremiah as like Amos.

## V

Lasker's *Race Attitudes in Children* is an attempt to show the effect of the social environment upon the development of race antipathies and race sympathies in children. The case method is used and much interesting and valuable material has been collected and presented. The author

also attempts to make psychological interpretations from the standpoint of theory. These are not always as successful and enlightening as might be, because necessarily the busy investigator cannot also cover the whole field of social psychology. For example, the author's reading in the literature of instinct is apparently inexcusably out of date, with the result that he accepts pretty much the categories, if not always the reasoning, of writers of the McDougall and Thorndike types. If one is willing to disregard defective frame work at certain points, he may get much useful source material from this volume.

Grimberg's *Emotion and Delinquency* is professionally based on "a clinical study of 500 criminals in the making." The author also has apparently a number of presuppositions in his thinking. Although he distinguishes between inheritance and transmission of traits he seems to attribute most delinquency to heredity. Much of this heredity is, of course, merely limiting and not hereditary transmission in kind. He believes that mental defect is much more common than is generally recognized, especially in the New York Code, and that it is the basis of much emotional maladjustment basic to delinquency. He is, in fact, a biological determinist, although perhaps not in the same crude sense in which that term might formerly have been applied to Goddard, C. B. Davenport, and others.

## VI

The method used in Uren's *Recent Religious Psychology* is that of an analysis and comparison of the theories of Starbuck, Coe, James (William), Pratt, Amos, Stratton, and Leuba. Each book (including two each for Coe and Pratt) is analyzed and explained separately. The six pages of "results" constitute a rather meagre

synthetic presentation of recent trends in the field of religious psychology in the United States. There are eight pages of criticism of the American viewpoint, and the naturalistic trend of this American group gives the author much cause for alarm. It is a Scotch book.

Florence's *Economics and Human Behavior* is a more encouraging attempt to bring a special social science into relation with current psychological interpretation or behaviorism. The author is a behaviorist and recognizes the error of the intellectualistic classical economists, but he holds that the efforts of the instinctivist school to explain economic behavior was equally barren and erred as far in the opposite direction. The older (Sidgwick) ethical school was without fruit, because it was not functional and behavioristic. The true criterion of a behavioristic method in economics is to be found in an actual study of what goes on in the economic world, and the method indicated here is the statistical. Social and historical circumstances must also be taken into account as important background factors in economic behavior. "Economics has probably more to learn from such sciences

of social behavior as anthropology, constitutional history, comparative politics, and administrative theory than it has from any social psychology of instincts." Good as this is, does it indicate that the author has not heard of any other kind of social psychology? He is an Englishman.

## VII

*Community Conflict* is a case study waif, not acknowledged by its author or authors, if it has a multiple paternity. It is designed to illustrate the conflict which paralyzes so many smaller communities that go on the rocks because the rival self-interests of would be leaders, the ambitions of denominations, political parties, competing banks, and other institutions or persons struggle to control the helm. It is a sad story, but altogether too true. The chapter on The Conflict Mind-Set is penetrating and keen. The analysis of Rival Issues is also good. The constructive chapter seems to have been less matured. If this little volume is only three licks and a promise, in its final form it should be a gratifying realization. It deals with a problem that calls loudly for solution.

## THE CHANGING COUNTY

CARL E. MCCOMBS

COUNTIES IN TRANSITION. By Frank W. Hoffer. University, Virginia: Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1929. 255 pp.

Since the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Virginia began its studies in 1926 with the announcement that public welfare would be given major consideration in its research program, we have been anticipating this report. Virginia is a particularly fertile field for research in public welfare, not alone because Virginia county

governments and their institutions derive so directly from their English antecedents, but because the social viewpoint and political philosophy of Virginians is likewise so directly an inheritance from their colonial forebears. Professor Hoffer is extremely fortunate in having available such an opportunity for research and in having at his command a corps of university associates with special experience and interest in the Virginia situation. One would naturally expect the product



of research under such circumstances to be of high value, and we are happy to record that *Counties in Transition* fully meets our expectation. It is, in our opinion, the best study of county welfare problems which has yet appeared.

There are a hundred counties in Virginia varying widely in area, natural advantages, economic resources, and in the size, character, composition, habits, customs, and modes of thought of their populations. As Professor Hoffer points out, all counties have basically the same general form of government patterned upon that of the shire or local government division which existed in England before the days of King Alfred. Yet when county government organization in Virginia is studied carefully the original sound structure is found to have been so modified and amended to suit the particular views and needs of the various counties that the machinery has become most amazingly complex, inarticulate and inefficient. Both the report of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research in 1927 and Professor Hoffer's more recent report characterize Virginia county government as "scattered, disjointed and irresponsible." Respect for the time-honored institutions of their forefathers is to be expected of Virginians, and they cling tenaciously to the ideals of democracy which these institutions represent or are supposed to represent. But reverence for the past is no more characteristic of the people of Virginia than is their desire to preserve the democratic ideal of home rule, and in strict accordance with this ideal, legislation in Virginia designed to protect citizen rights and promote citizen opportunities has emphasized particularly the principle of county autonomy. It is easy, therefore, to understand why there is such lack of uniformity in welfare organization, methods, and results throughout the hundred counties.

In his first chapter, "The Conduct of the Study," Professor Hoffer sets forth the reasons for the undertaking and the methods followed in gathering and interpreting the facts. With the view of presenting a cross section of the complex county organism, six representative counties, Albermarle, Amherst, Arlington, Augusta, Rockingham and Wise were selected for intensive study, an admirable selection, representing both the agricultural and industrial interests of the state. "The individuality of each of the six counties . . . is as distinct as that of any six human beings" says Professor Hoffer and in his second chapter on "Characteristics of the Counties," the truth of this statement is manifest in his discussion of their geography and history, agricultural and social life, industrial development, composition of population, and illiteracy. Then follows a chapter on "Organization and Personnel of Welfare Agencies" which sums up the existing facilities for county welfare work and the all important relationships between the State Department of Welfare and local official and unofficial agencies. A particularly interesting part of this chapter is that which deals with the theory of the division of state and local responsibilities on which Virginia social legislation has been based. The report then considers at length and in appropriate detail the several phases of county public welfare activity under the following chapter heads: Outdoor Poor Relief, The County Almshouse, Care of Children—Foster Home, Care of Children—Institutional, Mothers Aid in Wise County (the only county which has as yet made an appropriation to carry out the purpose of the Mothers Aid Law of 1918), The Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, The County Jail, Character Building and Recreational Agencies, Religious, Civic and Fraternal Organizations. Chapters on Welfare Income and Expendi-

tures in which the counties' economic resources and ability to spend for public welfare service are examined, and on Welfare Problems and Developments round out the picture. The chapters on Outdoor Poor Relief, The County Almshouse, and The County Jail are of exceptional interest because of the antiquity of these institutions and the problems which they present in the reconstruction program now under way.

The "transition" of the Virginia counties as Professor Hoffer describes it, is more than a transition from "an agricultural to an industrial economy." It is a transition also from local autonomy in public welfare administration to a more highly centralized and directed administration by a state welfare agency. This latter trend in Virginia has been most marked since 1922 when the laws creating county boards of welfare and establishing the State Department of Welfare in place of the older Board of Welfare, were enacted. The older board was mainly advisory in function, but the present department is fast becoming an administrative agency with increasing powers in local affairs. Although Professor Hoffer is convinced, as any one with experience in Virginia local government must be, that the best results are there to be obtained through voluntary cooperation between local and state governments rather than by a state overlordship, the importance of a strong, well directed, adequately financed state department of welfare is emphasized and the need for extension of the state's responsibility for

county welfare work somewhere just this side of actual control is suggested. No matter what theory one may hold with respect to the division of powers between state and local governments every study such as that here reviewed brings out clearly that the prevention of social ills like the prevention of disease cannot be satisfactorily dealt with without a very considerable limitation of local autonomy by the state. We are confident that Professor Hoffer has found it so in Virginia. Such sentences here and there in his report, as with references to the intolerable jail system of the state, "A bright spot in the picture is the increasing state control," are illuminating in this connection.

It is hoped that *Counties in Transition* will find a large circle of readers not only in Virginia but in other states confronted with the same problems of carrying on a well conceived program of county public welfare service with the decrepit and ramshackle machinery of county government. To students of local government the volume is invaluable not only for its fact analysis of an important problem of government but as a guide to methods of research in the public welfare field. We commend it heartily to readers of *Social Force*.

For the sake of the librarians we regret only that the monograph was bound in paper covers. Its format is otherwise excellent. A bibliography of recent publications on county welfare work generally and on Virginia's history and social progress adds materially to its reference value. It is adequately indexed.

#### NEEDED: A SOCIOLOGY OF THE FRONTIER

RUPERT B. VANCE

THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER: 1670-1732. By Verner W. Crane. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1928. 391 pp. \$4.50.

FRONTIERS: THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY. By Archer Butler Hulbert. New York: Little, Brown, 1929. 266 pp. \$3.00.

Ever since Frederick Jackson Turner proved his philosophic grasp of American history, students have been attempting to fill his framework with the data of demography and social history. It must be said that they have been more successful in the field of political and military history of the frontier than in the analysis of its cultural adaptations, social institutions, and human ecology. The first of our present volumes offers a case in point. This is simply another way of saying that it is not every historian who possesses the philosophic grasp of social relations, physical and cultural backgrounds with the genius for lucid interpretation that is Turner's. For a time to come Turner seems fated to remain the one historian with the greatest appeal to the sociologist who seeks our cultural heritages in the peculiar American scene of the past. In the field of southern history he is approached, at their best, by U. B. Phillips, W. E. Dodd, and W. L. Fleming.

Confining himself to the areas embraced by South Carolina, Georgia, and northern Florida as they existed in the period 1670-1732, Dr. Crane draws a scholarly picture of the Southern Frontier. Chapters treat of the first contacts, the expansion of the frontier, the border wars, Indian wars and French wars. To the reviewer the outstanding contribution of the book is its description of the Carolina Indian Trade. The founding of Georgia is also recounted from original sources and with a fresh viewpoint. If the book is not just what the sociologist wants, it is none the less what the author intended and a tribute to the historian's craft.

If Professor Crane neglects the interpretative bent in favor of data Professor Hulbert in *Frontiers* is too much given to generalization. Much of the book is literary in the finest sense of that word, yet it is marked throughout with impress

of the newer historians. Professor Hulbert sees American history in regional terms:

. . . . dukedoms of Aroostook potatoes, empires of cotton and of rice, bishoprics of Burley tobacco and of maple forests; grand duchies of blue grass; kingdoms of wheat and citrus fruit; principalities of timber and of sugar beet and princely fiefs of gold, silver, iron and copper.

Into and out of the regions came psychosocial types:

I saw tribe-seed, sect-seed, and clan-seed drifting westward—hard-woods people, piney-woods folks, blue-grass generations, pennyroyal colonies, human oaks, tumbleweed generations, timothy families, buffalo grass families like nature's seed before them groping in the dark for lands that felt like home . . . Not unlike the scientific order of plant migration, human clans and sects, tribes and families, went through a somewhat routine if irregular procession of "invasion," "competition," "succession" and "climax."

This is the suggestive vision of art rather than the meticulously filled-in details of history and social geography. In our present stage of knowledge not even the distinguished author of the *Highways of America* can fill in the picture. The especial value of the book, however, lies in this very quality of daring to suggest untrod paths as the realm of social interpretation. Both of these books, each in a different mode, point the way to a *magnum opus* that many of us long to see—a social demography of the American Frontier.

THE "SOUL" OF THE PRIMITIVE. By Lucian Lévy-Bruhl. New York: Macmillan, 1928. 351 pp. \$5.00.

The general viewpoint from which Lévy-Bruhl approaches the study of primitive thought has been made familiar by two previous works recently translated. The present volume, like its predecessors rendered into clear and beautiful English by Lilian A. Clare, is devoted entirely to a consideration of the question, How does

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the primitive conceive his own personality? It is in fact more than a little difficult to state the exact object of inquiry, and the term "soul" in the title is purposely put in quotation marks. Perhaps one could phrase it a little differently and more accurately this way, "What ideas in primitive thought correspond more or less roughly to those which the word 'soul' implies to us? In a word, the author finds that primitives do not have any clean-cut conception of personality. Their views are thoroughly imbued with what Lévy-Bruhl elsewhere has called "the law of participation." (*How Natives Think*, ch. ii.) Primitive thought conceives all things everywhere, living and dead, as possessing "one and the same essential reality, both one and multiple, both material and spiritual." This mystic reality is felt rather than represented clearly in conceptual thought.

The implications of such a world-view are illustrated by the author by hundreds of instances. We are shown how they affect the savage's relations with plants and animals, with one another, and with the social group, and how they enable one to understand primitive art, fairy tale and folklore. In the second part of the book, which deals with the dead, we are shown what the primitive mind understands by survival, twofold existence, bipresence, transmigration, rebirth and reincarnation.

In this work the author does not seem to press so rigorously his thesis that primitive thought is entirely "prelogical." He seems even to admit, here and there, that it contains a common-sense, practical, work-a-day element, as Malinowski and others have shown. Nevertheless, he has made it abundantly clear that the basic assumptions of the primitive view of self and the world are at the opposite pole from the purely naturalistic view which rejects all mystical essences and sees man

and nature as the only realities. One sees in this work, even more clearly than in Lévy-Bruhl's previous works, the early forms of those ideas which become the bases of magico-religious theory and practice the world over. The book is fascinating reading and gives one a realistic picture of some of the thoughts that go on in the untutored mind. It enables one whose thinking has become permeated with the concepts of scientific realism to think in terms of another psychology.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

ESSENTIALS OF CIVILIZATION. By Thomas Jesse Jones. New York: Holt, 1929. 267 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Jones asks questions "Why civilization?" "What civilization?" His replies are interestingly drawn from a series of concrete experiences in dealing with civilization at various levels; first as an immigrant boy, then in research among New York immigrants, and in the study of rural and racial problems in the South, in Africa, and in the Near East. Throughout he has preserved a certain tough-mindedness against what he calls the professional sympathizer on the one hand, and the exploiter on the other.

His answer to "Why civilization?" consists of a classification of the fundamental activities of all communities whether primitive tribes or civilized cities. These are (1) health and sanitation, (2) appreciation of the environment both material and human, (3) the effective transfer of the social heritage, (4) recreation in its broadest sense, including the recreation of the spirit through worship. This classification justifies the subtitle "A Study in Social Values." The true worth of any activity is to be judged by its contribution to human advance in these four fundamentals.

The answer to "What civilization?"

is found in the sixfold division of organization,—governmental, economic, educational, religious, philanthropic, and art. Each of these groups of organized effort to carry on civilization is judged on the basis of its contribution to the four essentials.

This is a simple and excellent framework for relating the diverse and confusing modern problems to the fundamental general scheme of things. It is a much clearer exposition of social values than is to be found in the usual formal sociology treatise. Throughout the propositions are concretely illustrated and developed in a stimulating style.

In his final chapter Dr. Jones is in accord with the most recent viewpoint of cultural anthropology and sociology in emphasizing the unity of civilization, the interrelation and interaction of the four essentials, and the six types of organization for realizing these essentials. Thus for balanced human development industry's purpose is to contribute to health, control of the environment, education, and recreation. It cannot afford to shirk its task in any of these respects. Nor can it proceed without recognition of its relationships with the other organizations, religious, governmental, educational, philanthropic, and art.

The approach to this unity is through synthesis, survey and service. Synthesis must come through a true consciousness of community. Survey is to develop a well-informed consciousness. Service should become true cooperation rather than paternalism. This cooperation is described as springing "out of an attitude of mind toward others, an open-mindedness toward other people and organizations, a willingness to recognize their place and their value, an appreciation of their minds and their methods, and a determination to work with them, however

much they may differ, so long as their objectives and their methods are sound."

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

*University of North Carolina.*

THE OLD SAVAGE IN THE NEW CIVILIZATION. By Raymond B. Fosdick. New York: Doubleday Doran, 1928. 239 pp. \$2.50.

The title of Fosdick's book indicates that his problem is, What will the cave man within us do with the almost unlimited power which the new science and machinery are placing in his hands? Nowhere have the momentous consequences of such power been more effectively portrayed. In the earlier chapters he creates a vivid realization of the rate of recent social changes and of our powerlessness to control the gigantic social forces involved therein. "Unless we can marshal behind such studies as economics, political science, and sociology the same enthusiasm, the same approach, and something of the same technique that characterize our treatment of physics and chemistry; unless the results of this research can be applied to human life as freely and boldly as we apply the natural sciences to modify our methods of living; unless we can free ourselves of prejudice and stale custom and harness intelligence to the task of straightening out the relations of man with his fellow men and promoting an intercourse of harmony and fairness—unless, in brief, in our generation we can make some appreciable progress toward this goal of social control, then pessimism has the better of the argument, and the chances of our keeping the train on the track are exceedingly slight."

Turning to controlling features of our haloed tradition he shows the threadbare insufficiency for existing social conditions of such ancient emotions and social stereotypes as patriotism, "the faith of the fathers," democracy, and "the wisdom of

the ages." He shows how the machine has standardized life and reduced man to a new slavery; and yet "Stop the machines and half the people in the world would die in a month." Even opinion has been standardized; mass opinion looms larger and mass emotion more ominous than heretofore. We had thought the machine would bring us leisure, but instead it makes life more and more hectic. What we save by one device we consume in running others; the devices become ends in themselves. Even our leisure is mechanized and life has become rapid and thin. Leisure does not automatically bring culture, and the mass of the population becomes so debased in taste by their labor and living conditions that the best in art, literature, music, and life values is alien to them. Can labor be truly ennobled in a machine culture?

Then there is the deep rift in civilization due to the preservation of an antiquated nationalism in a world that has in fact become an economic unity. Will the "old savages" succeed in blowing this new world to bits, or will the young civilized save it? We need an Aristotle to synthesize for us a fresh, realistic and adequate world view. But Fosdick is not entirely without optimism. He sees signs of a decline in tribal vanities and the emergence of an emotional attachment to the type of world organization envisaged in the now weak but growing League of Nations.

Mr. Fosdick has written a vivid, timely and highly suggestive book. His pages are moving in style, picturesque and vigorous in language. They are also imbued with earnestness and sincerity. He shows convincingly the immensity of the new problems of social and world organization; but he has the almost unparalleled modesty and intelligence to acknowledge that he does not have at hand their ready-

made solutions. The wide reading of this little book would help immensely toward a saner outlook.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

PROBLEM ECONOMICS. By Dexter M. Keezer, Addison T. Cutler and Frank R. Garfield. New York: Harper, 1928. 719 pp. \$3.50.

The dismal science grows less and less dismal. Not that it hasn't discovered new devils to worry it—public utilities and supreme courts and unstable price levels and company unions—but it is beginning to become vital once more. Ricardo's theorizing pertained to a central problem of his day. And we are just escaping from a political economy which still fights on the battle field which he selected. This new life is neatly symbolized by the bindings of new economics publications, which at least occasionally escape from the shade so often associated with melancholy.

The flood of economics textbooks which has recently overwhelmed the conscientious man in charge of an elementary course shows indisputably the influence of the pattern sketched one hundred years ago. From certain assumptions certain principles are deduced which depict an economic order. It is an interesting and rather pretty exercise in logic. But a new note is beginning to be sounded quite often. More and more emphasis is being placed on the fact that, in the world we live in, there are various conditioning factors which modify and even thwart the operation of these principles. It is not enough to assume *ceteris paribus*. Are the hypothetical and relatively simple principles important, or the conditioning factors?

*Problem Economics* is significant because it is so clearly an attempt to present the problems of economics in terms of existing



social, political, and institutional conditions. One looks in vain for the law of comparative costs, Gresham's Law, and even Ricardian rent. The quantity theory is presented, but in the form of a straw man to be destroyed by multiple causation and result. But what takes the place of the old principles? Consider the chapters on distribution. One looks in vain for the functional classification and for a demonstration of marginal productivity. Rather, after discussing the national income, the argument turns about the aspirations of the various competing groups for more income,—farmers, wage workers, property owners, business managers, consumers and the government. The plight of each group and the various methods employed to better conditions is the theme of each chapter. This is distribution in a sense that is real and vital and important and useful. It is exceedingly stimulating to the student's mind, and throws the emphasis on control and social planning in a way which the old analysis never could.

*Problem Economics* is divided into four sections. The first, called the setting, gives an historical survey and discusses the machine process, markets, financial and business organization. The second section discusses the price system including under this heading the tariff, trusts, public utilities, and business cycles. The third section concerns itself with division of income and is described above, and the last section deals with comprehensive schemes for easing the income struggle, i.e., limiting population, wasting less and producing more, and remodeling the economic system. The problems are discussed in terms of contemporary conditions in the United States.

The volume has not only a new pattern but a new texture. It has long been

realized that there is no better method of making students recognize the many-sidedness of economic problems than by collections of readings. But such anthologies have always lacked coherence. This volume consists of readings and text, about half and half. The authors have been amazingly successful in coordinating fresh and entertaining readings without loss of unity. To help the student, each chapter begins with an outline; to help the teacher, it ends with a series of questions.

If the purpose of an elementary course is to start thought, to promote discussion, to be a beginning, then this textbook is successful. It can be used only where discussion is the chief method of instruction. It gives few answers, but rather states the problems in terms which are often fresh and always stimulating.

WILLARD L. THORP.

*Amherst College.*

*THE GOLD COAST AND THE SLUM.* (A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF CHICAGO'S NEAR NORTH SIDE.) By Harvey W. Zorbaugh. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 279 pp. \$3.00.

The foregoing study definitely adds another sector to the domain of urban sociology, a field which the University of Chicago using its city as a laboratory has made peculiarly its own. Studies by Hayner of the hotel, Reckless of vice areas, Thrasher of the gang, Cavan of suicide, Mowrer of family disorganization, Anderson of the hobo, and Wirth of the ghetto have combined something of the verve of journalism with the restraint of science. Out of these descriptive studies, it is to be hoped, will arrive a synthesis toward which hints have been given in the papers found between the covers of *The City* and *The Urban Community*.

As one has come to expect of the

Chicago school the main contributions of this book are to be found in its descriptive analysis of urban personality types and the ecological patterns of the city. In a natural region of the city, the Near North Side, a mile and a half long and a mile wide containing 90,000 people, Dr. Zorbaugh found that a half dozen cultures conflict but do not touch. Middletown seems to possess a closely knit culture in comparison with these violently contrasting moral orders in a spatial pattern. At the back door of the Gold Coast along Lake Shore Drive is found Little Hell. In the World of Furnished Rooms, a world of dull routine and unsatisfied longings, sleep some 25,000 people. In the Slums, a bleak area of segregation, the sediment of society has reached the limit of social decay. Clark Street the Rialto of the Half World, is an all night-street, an area of cheap dance halls, doubtful hotels, "flops," pawnshops, and second hand stores. Towertown is the home of artists and would-be artists. The North Side is not a community; it possesses no community processes nor common codes as communal products. A series of fifteen maps give the ecological basis of these nondescript areas in transition.

Life history documents from residents of the Gold Coast, pawnbrokers, artists, charity girls, dope fiends, life's failures, would-be's and has-been's vie with case records of the United Charities in presenting in portraiture personality types of the urban scene. The criminal, the radical, the bohemian, the transient worker, the shop girl, the clerk, the waitress, the man of affairs, the inventor, men and women listed in the *Social Register* "of good family and not employed" walk through these pages. This is a book of vivid scholarship, written by a real personality who has not hesitated to

peep into the crannies of urban life. It passes no judgments and presents no reforms. It has benefited by the fact that its author has not compressed too harshly his human materials, alive and often untractable, into predetermined categories. The whole study is illuminated by a literary style, vivid, crisp, and alert. It is worthy of a title once used by Theodore Dreiser, "The Color of a City."

RUPERT B. VANCE.

*University of North Carolina.*

THE ART OF STRAIGHT THINKING. By Edwin L. Clarke. New York: Appleton, 1929. 470 pp. \$3.00.

Every teacher of the social sciences, especially those dealing with elementary students has struggled with the mass of biases and prejudices which the student brings to the class-room. Some of these are merely amusing; others are irritating; but there are others which insulate the mind so thoroughly that mental development is seriously impeded. Professor Clarke has set himself the prodigious task of showing the student how his mental predilections are formed and how their control over his mental processes may be reduced. He has succeeded remarkably well. *The Art of Straight Thinking* bears on every page the marks of conscientious labor and clear thought. It seems to have grown out of class-room experience, for it is close to the student mind. It is a book which college freshmen and sophomores will read with interest and permanent profit.

No doubt many of us are accustomed to introduce our students to the social sciences with more or less instruction as to the insidious nature of bias and the necessity of scientific objectivity. Clarke has done the job much more thoroughly. He has chapters on the causes and cures of

prejudice, deduction, observation, definition and classification, the methods of experiment, analogy, and comparison, assumptions, circumstantial evidence, oral testimony, documentary evidence and propaganda. It should all be illuminating to the student and parts of it will prove absorbing even to the seasoned social scientist. It should be an excellent basis for a course in method in the social sciences. It could be adopted by teachers of logic as a means of putting some life

and meaning into the dry bones of the syllogism. Personally, I am somewhat overwhelmed by the wealth of material here presented, including as it does numerous examples and questions. I should like to have the most important parts of this book boiled down to say a hundred pages as the student's introduction to the study of whatever social science he undertakes first.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

*Smith College.*

### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

REPORT NO. 6, RESEARCH PROJECTS OF THE MEMBER SCHOOLS, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1929. American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business Committee on Business Research. Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana, 1929. 96 pp. \$2.00.

SOCIAL CASE WORK, GENERIC AND SPECIFIC. (A report of the Milford Conference.) No. 2 in the Studies in the Practice of Social Work. New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1929. 92 pp.

BLACK ROADWAYS: A STUDY OF FOLK LIFE IN JAMAICA. By Martha Warren Beckwith. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1929. 243 pp. \$3.00.

WERTHEIM LECTURES ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, 1928. By Otto S. Beyer, Jr., Joseph H. Willits, John P. Frey, William M. Leiserson, John R. Commons, Elton Mayo, Frank W. Taussig. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929. 229 pp. \$3.00.

WHAT IS RIGHT WITH MARRIAGE. By Robert C. Binkley and Frances Williams Binkley. New York: Appleton, 1929. 262 pp. \$2.50.

AGRICULTURAL REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES. By John D. Black. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929. 511 pp.

THE TRAGIC ERA (THE REVOLUTION AFTER LINCOLN). By Claude G. Bowers. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1929. 566 pp. \$5.00.

THE PUEBLO POTTER. By Ruth L. Bunzel. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. 134 pp. \$10.00.

PSYCHOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. By Harold E. Burtt. New York: Appleton, 1929. 395 pp. \$3.00.

OLD MISS. By T. Bowyer Campbell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1929. 302 pp.

BUSINESS GIRLS (A STUDY OF THEIR INTERESTS AND PROBLEMS). By Ruth Shonle Cavan. Chicago: The Religious Education Association, 1929. 97 pp. \$1.00.

HOMEPLACE. By Maristan Chapman. New York: Viking Press, 1929. 275 pp. \$2.50.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE. By Frederick A. Cleveland. New York: The Ronald Press, 1929. 592 pp. \$4.50.

NEW VIEWS OF EVOLUTION. By George P. Conger. New York: Macmillan, 1929. 235 pp. \$2.50.

ROPER'S ROW. By Warwick Deeping. New York: Knopf, 1929. 365 pp.

EMOTION AS THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION. By J. H. Denison. New York: Scribner's, 1928. 555 pp. \$5.00.

THE SALESLADY. Frances R. Donovan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929. 267 pp. \$3.00.

THE LIFE OF AN ORDINARY WOMAN. By Anne Ellis. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1929. 301 pp. \$3.50.

MAN'S SOCIAL DESTINY. By Charles A. Ellwood. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press, 1929. 219 pp. \$2.00.

COMMUNITY RECREATION. By James Claude Elsom. New York: Century, 1929. 278 pp. \$2.25.

CHILD CARE AND TRAINING. By Marion L. Faegre and John E. Anderson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1929. 274 pp. \$2.00.

A SURVEY OF RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. By The Advisory Committee on Industrial Relations. Herman Feldman, Investigator. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1928. 159 pp. (Mimeographed.)



- THEN I SAW THE CONGO.** By Grace Flandrau. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929. 308 pp. Illustrated.
- ALFRED WEBER'S THEORY OF THE LOCATION OF INDUSTRIES.** By Carl J. Friedrich. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 256 pp. \$3.00.
- CAIN OR THE FUTURE OF CRIME.** By George Godwin. New York: Dutton, 1929. 108 pp. \$1.00. (Today and Tomorrow Series.)
- THE INCREDIBLE MARQUIS. (THE AMAZING CAREER OF ALEXANDRE DUMAS.)** By Herbert S. Gorman. New York: Farrar and Rhinehart, 1929. 466 pp. \$5.00.
- STERILIZATION FOR HUMAN BETTERMENT.** By E. S. Gosney and Paul Popenoe. New York: Macmillan, 1929. 202 pp. \$2.00.
- A GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES FOR EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY (1600-1800) IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.** By Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. 357 pp. \$7.50.
- VIOLENCE.** By Marcet and E. Haldeman-Julius. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929. 374 pp. \$2.50.
- THE THINKING MACHINE.** By C. Judson Herrick. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 374 pp. \$3.00.
- SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.** By J. O. Hertzler. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1929. 234 pp. \$2.50.
- BIRTH CONTROL FOR THE BRITISH WORKING CLASSES.** By Norman E. and Vera C. Himes. (Reprinted from Hospital Social Service, XIX, 1929, 578.)
- EUGENIC THOUGHT IN THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT 100 YEARS AGO.** By Norman E. Himes. New Haven: The American Eugenics Society, Inc., 1929. 8 pp.
- ECONOMICS AND ETHICS. (A STUDY IN SOCIAL VALUES.)** By J. A. Hobson. Boston: Heath, 1929. 489 pp. \$4.00. (Heath Social Science Series.)
- THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE IN CHICAGO.** By Elizabeth A. Hughes and Francelia Stuenkel. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929. 115 pp. \$1.50.
- AMERICAN CIVIC ANNUAL.** Ed. by Harlean James. Washington: American Civic Association, Inc., 1929. 288 pp. \$2.00.
- THE FUTURE OF PARTY GOVERNMENT. (Addresses and discussions at the Institute of Statesmanship, Winter Park, Florida.)** Ed. by Leland H. Jenks. Winter Park, Florida: Rollins Press, 1929. 134 pp.
- MENTAL MEASUREMENT MONOGRAPHS. SERIAL No. 5.** Ed. by Buford Johnson and Knight Dunlap. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, February, 1929. 155 pp. "Studies in the Comparative Abilities of Whites and Negroes," by Joseph Peterson and Lyle H. Lanier.
- JOHN HENRY: TRACKING DOWN A NEGRO LEGEND.** By Guy B. Johnson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. 154 pp. \$2.00.
- STEEL CHIPS.** By Idwal Jones. New York: Knopf, 1929. 324 pp. \$2.50.
- YOUR FAMILY TREE.** By David Starr Jordan. New York: Appleton, 1929. 346 p. \$3.00.
- SCIENTIFIC METHOD.** By Truman L. Kelley. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1929. 195 pp. \$2.50.
- RAW MATERIALS OF INDUSTRIALISM** By Hugh B. Killough and Lucy W. Killough. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929. 407 pp. \$3.75.
- EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.** By Edgar W. Knight. New York: Ginn, 1929. 588 pp.
- INTRODUCTION TO CONTEMPORARY CIVILIZATION.** By Walter Libby. New York: Knopf, 1929. 272 pp.
- EARLY CANDLELIGHT.** By Maud Hart Lovelace. New York: John Day, 1929. 322 pp. \$2.50.
- ARE WE CIVILIZED?** By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929. 306 pp. \$3.00.
- WEATHERGOOSE—Wool!** By Percy Mackaye. New York: Longmans, Green, 1929. 185 pp. \$2.50.
- MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. Report for the Year Ended December 31, 1928, with an account of the New York Health Demonstrations.** New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1929. 142 pp.
- AGAINST THE WALL.** By Kathleen Millay. New York: Macaulay, 1929. 442 pp. \$2.50.
- FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY OF POLITICAL IDEAS FROM BAYLE TO CONDORCET.** By Kingsley Martin. Boston: Little, Brown, 1929. 313 pp. \$4.50.
- VICTORIAN WORKING WOMEN.** By Wanda Fraiken Neff. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929. 288 pp. \$3.50.
- CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA.** Special Bulletin No. 10. Raleigh, North Carolina: N. C. State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, 1929. 173 pp.
- WINGSON MY FEET.** By Howard W. Odum. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929. 309 pp. \$2.50.
- AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH.** By Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. New York: Holt, 1929. 488 pp. \$4.00.
- THE CONDUCT OF COMMUNITY CENTERS. (A practical guide for recreation workers.)** New York: Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1929. 52 pp. 25 cents.
- THE CHILD'S HEREDITY.** By Paul Popenoe. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1929. 316 pp. \$2.00.
- AESTHETIC JUDGMENT.** By D. W. Prall. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929. 378 pp. \$4.00.

- THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF BALTIMORE 1900-1926.** By Leonard Owens Rea. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. 127 pp. \$1.25.
- TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR DELINQUENT GIRLS.** By Margaret Reeves. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1929. 455 pp. \$3.50.
- THE CHAIN STORE AND THE PACKING INDUSTRY.** By E. L. Rhodes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 31 pp. \$.50.
- FROM THE PHYSICAL TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.** By Jacques Rueff. Tr. by Herman Green. Intro. by Herman Oliphant and Abram Hewitt. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929. 159 pp.
- PUBLIC UTILITIES.** (A Survey of the extent of instruction in public utilities in colleges and universities of the industry's interest in college graduates and of willingness and ability of utilities to cooperate with higher educational institutions.) C. O. Ruggles, Director of the Survey. New York: National Electric Association, 1929. 154 pp.
- ON THE WINGS OF A BIRD.** By Herbert Ravenel Sass. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. 334 pp. \$2.50.
- PROBLEMS OF HOSPITAL MANAGEMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HOSPITAL.** By Albert E. Sawycr. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. 83 pp. 50 cents. (Michigan Business Studies.)
- TRAINING FOR SOCIAL EXPRESSION.** By Philip L. Seman. Chicago: Author, 1929. 142 pp.
- STANDARD DEPARTMENTAL STOCK-SALES RATIOS FOR DEPARTMENT STORES: FALL SEASON.** By Carl N. Schmalz and O. W. Blackett. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. 87 pp. 50 cents. (Michigan Business Studies.)
- THE BUREAU OF PROHIBITION: ITS HISTORY, ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATION.** By Laurence F. Schmeckebier. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1929. 333 pp. (Institute for Government Research, Service Monographs of the U. S. Govt., No. 57.)
- WAR AND PEACE IN THE LIGHT OF INTELLECTOLOGY.** By Abraham Schomer. Los Angeles: Provisional Committee for Calling an Alliance for the Scientific Control and Prevention of War, and the Scientific Enforcement and Advancement of Peace, 1929. 80 pp.
- THE ADOLESCENT: HIS CONFLICTS AND ESCAPES.** By Sidney I. Schwab, M.D. and Borden S. Veeder, M.D. New York: Appleton, 1929. 365 pp. \$3.00.
- THE WAVE.** By Evelyn Scott. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1929. 625 pp. \$2.50.
- UP TO NOW. An Autobiography.** By Alfred E. Smith. New York: Viking Press, 1929. 434 pp. \$5.00. Illustrated.
- THE COAST GUARD.** By Darrell Hevenor Smith and Fred Wilbur Powell. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1929. 265 pp. (Service Monographs of the U. S. Govt., No. 51.)
- A MODERN THEORY OF ETHICS: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF ETHICS AND PSYCHOLOGY.** By W. Olaf Stapledon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1929. 277 pp. \$2.75.
- CHEMISTRY IN MEDICINE.** Ed. By Julius Stieglitz. New York: The Chemical Foundation, 1929 (2d printing). 757 pp.
- LUCK: YOUR SILENT PARTNER.** By Lothrop Stoddard. New York: Horace Liveright, 1929. 336 pp. \$2.50.
- THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY.** By Juanita Tanner. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1929. 312 pp. \$3.50.
- MEXICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES VALLEY OF THE SOUTH PLATTE COLORADO.** By Paul S. Taylor. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1929. 40 pp. (University of California Publications in Economics, VI, No. 2, pp. 95-235.)
- MEXICO REVOLUCIONARIO.** By Oscar Tenorio. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. da "Folha Academica," 1928. 233 pp.
- DANGER SPOTS IN WORLD POPULATION.** By Warren S. Thompson. New York: Knopf, 1929. 343 pp. \$3.50.
- THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDE.** (A psychophysical method and some experiments with a scale for measuring attitude toward the church.) By L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 97 pp. \$1.00.
- HUMAN FACTORS IN COTTON CULTURE.** By Rupert B. Vance. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929. 346 pp. \$3.00.
- STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF STATISTICAL METHOD.** By Helen M. Walker. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1929. 229 pp.
- THE NO-NATION GIRL.** By Evans Wall. New York: Century, 1929. 316 pp. \$2.50.
- A STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE INDIVIDUAL TESTS IN AGES VIII AND IX IN THE STANFORD-BINET SCALE.** By J. E. Wallace Wallin. Mental Measurement Monographs, Serial No. 6, June, 1929. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co. 58 pp.
- THE DUK-DUKS (PRIMITIVE AND HISTORIC TYPES OF CITIZENSHIP).** By Elizabeth Anne Weber. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. 142 pp. \$3.00.
- THE SCIENCE OF PSYCHOLOGY (AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY).** By Raymond Holder Wheeler. New

- York: Crowell, 1929. 556 pp. \$3.75. Illustrated.
- HUNKY. By Thames Williamson. New York: Coward McCann, 1929. 312 pp. \$2.50.
- LONG AGO TOLD. (Legends of the Papago Indians.) By Harold Bell Wright. New York: Appleton, 1929. 290 pp. \$2.50.
- BUSINESS AND THE YOUNG ACCOUNTANT: VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE COLLEGE GRADUATE. By Clarence S. Yoakum. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1929. 42 pp. 50 cents. (Michigan Business Studies.)
- LABOR ATTITUDES IN IOWA AND CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY. By Dale Yoder. Iowa City, Iowa: College of Commerce, State University, 1929. 192 pp. \$1.00. (Iowa Studies in Business, No. V.)
- RESEARCH AND STUDIES (ABSTRACTS OF ENTERPRISES WITHIN THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION COMPLETED DURING 1928 OR IN PROCESS JANUARY 1, 1929). Prepared for Annual Conference on Research, Young Men's Christian Associations of United States and Canada, Cleveland, Ohio, May 10-12, 1929. 86 pp.

## REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

At the meeting of the Social Science Research Council held at Hanover, New Hampshire, in August, 1929, the Council's special Committee on Regional Research, composed of Professor Leon C. Marshall, of Johns Hopkins University, Chairman, Professor Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, President Arnold Bennett Hall, of the University of Oregon, and Professor Jesse F. Steiner, of Tulane University, reported to the Council as follows:

"Our outlook is that, along with (a) desirable centralization of policy formation, it is expedient to have (b) that type of decentralization which results in effective execution of the policies of the Council in the development of initiative among the workers and agencies out in the field, and in a flow of fertile suggestions from the field to the central body. In other words, this report suggest decentralization of only certain aspects of the Council's work. We are not taking the position that the only effective type of decentralization (in these aspects of the work of the Council in which decentralization is desired) is decentralized on a regional basis. We assume that other types of decentralization will be utilized; but this report deals only with decentralization on a regional basis."

The Committee made the specific recommendation that committees be set up experimentally, namely:

- a. An advisory Regional Committee on Policies for the Development of the Social Sciences in the Pacific Coast Region (three states and part of Canada included).
- b. An Advisory Regional Committee on Policies for the Development of the Social Sciences in the Southern Region (thirteen states included).

Adopting in principle these recommendations of the Regional Committee, the Council referred the report to its Committee on Problems and Policies for further execution and at its meeting on November 16, 1929, the Committee on Problems and Policies appointed the following regional committees:

*For the Pacific Coast Region:* President Arnold Bennett Hall, University of Oregon, Chairman; Professor Roderick D. Mackenzie, University of Washington; Professor Robert H. Lowie, University of California; Professor Lewis M. Terman, Stanford University; Professor T. H. Boggs, University of British Columbia; Professor Joseph S. Davis, Stanford University; Professor Max Farrand, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

*For the Southern Region:* Professor Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina, Chairman; Professor Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Professor Max Handman, University of Texas; Professor Jesse F. Steiner, Tulane University; Professor Joseph Peterson, George Peabody College; Professor Ellis M. Coulter, University of Georgia; Professor Benjamin Kendrick, North Carolina College for Women.